

TRAVELS

THROUGH

HOLLAND,
FLANDERS,
GERMANY,
DENMARK,
SWEDEN,

LAPLAND,
RUSSIA,
The UKRAINE,
AND
POLAND,

IN THE

Years 1768, 1769, and 1770.

In which is particularly Minuted,

THE PRESENT STATE
OF
THOSE COUNTRIES

RESPECTING THEIR

AGRICULTURE, POPULATION,
MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE,
THE ARTS, AND USEFUL UNDERTAKINGS.

By JOSEPH MARSHALL, Esq.

THE SECOND EDITION.

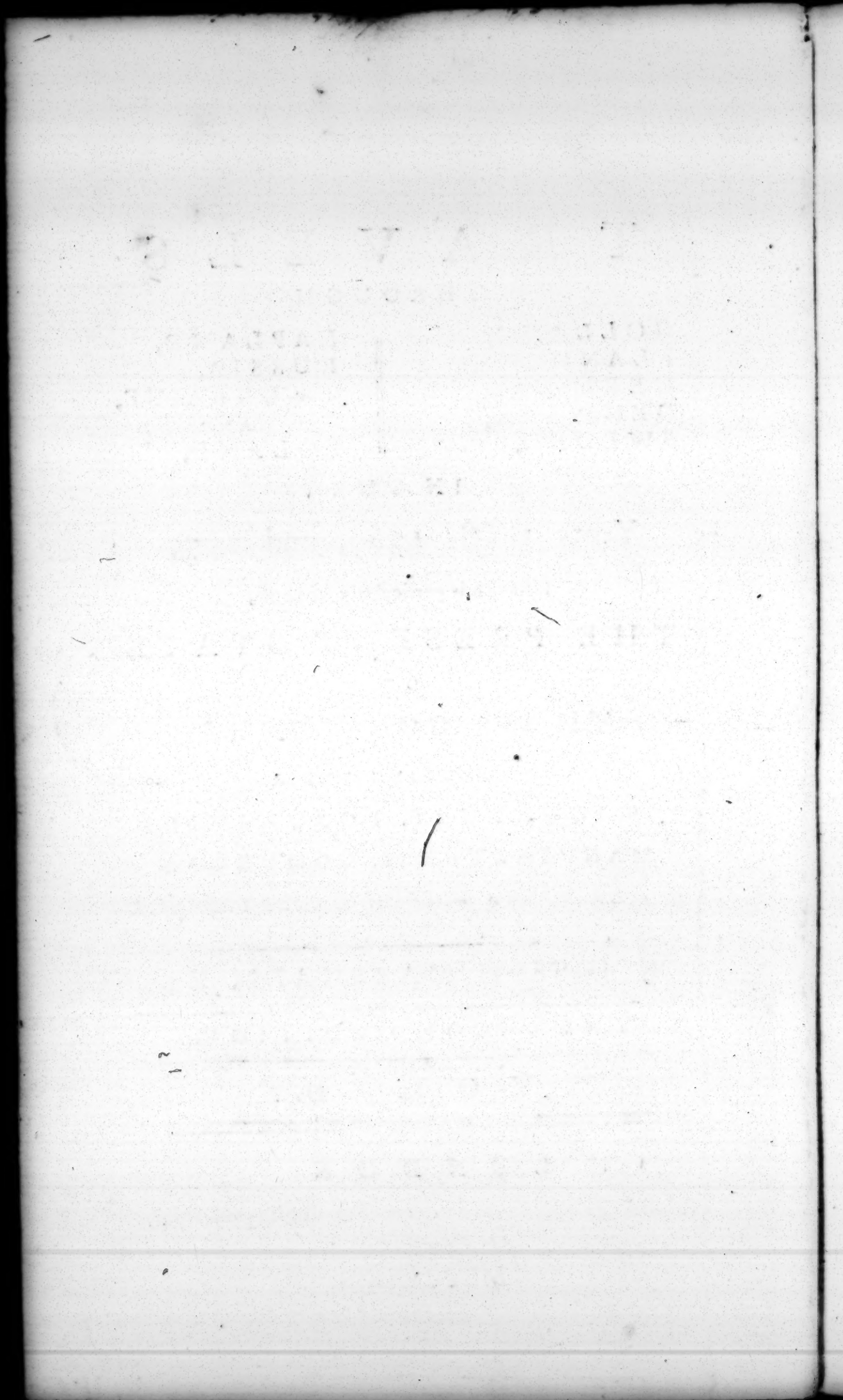
V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House,
Piccadilly.

MDCCLXXIII.





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C H A P. I.

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FROM Middleburgh I set out for Sluys, the 27th of June; part of the way, I was forced to take a sailing boat. There is nothing in that town, which is worth the shortest stay; I only dined there, and in the afternoon reached Bruges, having passed through a country pretty well cultivated. I fixed my quarters by recommendation at the Half Moon, where I found extreme good accommodation, and much civility.

Bruges is an antient and extensive city, walled in, the circumference being near five miles. There are near three hundred streets

in it, and a vast number of canals and rivers; but notwithstanding a degree of spaciousness, yet it is not an agreeable place; the houses are in general very old, and extremely ugly, and the whole place shews evident signs of decay, and a loss of that trade and manufacture, for which it was once famous. They reckon six squares, seven gates, eight churches, and no less than sixty monasteries; a woeful sort of population, instead of the industrious manufacturers, which once filled the city; among the rest, there is a nunnery of English, which several Roman Catholic families in England have contributed to fill.

The churches of Bruges have not any thing in them very remarkable; the best is the Jesuits, which is an elegant edifice. In the church of our Lady, there are two fine monuments of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and his daughter and heiress, Mary of Burgundy; they are of brass, with much enamelling; the workmanship good.

What makes this place have a very melancholy air, are the vast houses, standing empty in every part of the town, which once were the residence of wealth and splendor. Among others, they have seventeen palaces, which, in the times of their prosperity,

perity, were formerly the residence of consuls from various kingdoms and states in Europe. This town was famous for trade, before Antwerp arose, being the greatest mart in Europe; England made it the staple for her wool, and its cloth manufactories were much more considerable, than those of any other place or country. Bruges, at present, is not without trade. The Ostend canal admits ships of from 2 to 300 tons up to the heart of the city, which makes more trade here, than in any other town in Flanders. The merchandize, imported by the shipping on this canal, is, sent to many places from Bruges, particularly, by the Scheld to the city of Ghent, and from thence, by other canals, to various cities; and that river, with the Scarpe and the Lys, reach to Tournay, Menin, Lisle, and Doway: they have likewise a communication with Antwerp, Louvaine, Mechlin, and Brussels. They have also some manufactures, which employ many of their poor, particularly, in broad says, bays, and other fabricks.

From Bruges to Ostend, I took the treck-schuyt; the distance is twelve miles, which they perform in three hours. It passes through a level country, the soil inclinable

to sand, but very fertile, and well cultivated. That town is small, but well built, and clean, and does not exhibit so much decay of ancient greatness as Bruges. It is situated in the midst of a salt marsh, with ditches, into which the sea is let ; this situation makes it strong, but the improvements, in the modern art of attacking places will not allow it the same of such another siege, as that, which it stood against the Spaniards, which lasted three years, and in which above an hundred thousand men on both sides fell ; the French, in 1745, took it in eight days open trenches. It has of late years been most noted by the East India company, which the Emperor established here, and which the maritime powers persisted in bullying him out of. It is somewhat extraordinary, that those powers should have the modesty to push that affair in the manner they did ; for why the Emperor should not have the liberty to form what establishments he pleased, in a sea port, in his own dominions, is much more than any of the English or Dutch memorials satisfy us in.

The 29th, I got to Newport, by a canal from Ostend thither ; this is a most pitiful fishing town, ill built, disagreeably situated, and has nothing to afford a traveller any amusement.

amusement. After dinner, the landlord of the inn, who is by birth an Irishman, brought me a bill, in which he had charged a pair of foals at sixteen shillings, though they were of a moderate size, and notwithstanding my reckoning, honestly reckoned, came to near a guinea: it was a piece of imposition which I was determined not to suffer. Upon my refusal to pay the bill, he was exceedingly impudent; he would carry me before the Eschevin: "Very well," replied I, "let us go to the Eschevin; I will attend you now." This ease of return disappointed him. I wanted much to get to Dunkirk that night, which was not more than four and twenty miles, and had bespoke a chaise for myself, and a horse for my servant; and the rascal of a landlord, finding that I did not purpose making any stay at Furnes, took it for granted, that time must of all things be most precious to me, and therefore thought, that rather than lose any, I should willingly submit to any imposition; but finding me resolute, he was at a nonplus. He offered to abate a shilling: "No, no, Sir, that will not do, you shall go to the Eschevin with me." This threat had its effect; the rascal at once dropt his sixteen shilling to a crown, well satis-

fied, I have no doubt, with double, what the magistrate would have allowed him. Had he gone to him, he would probably have been more severely mulcted. Here let me take occasion to warn my countrymen, in travelling through any part of Holland or Flanders, to avoid inns kept by any of their own countrymen ; I know very few exceptions to the rule of finding all the inns, kept by English, Scotch, or Irish, mere traps to catch the unwary travellers.

Furnes is a little paltry place of no consideration, but Dunkirk demands more attention. This place, which has made so much noise in modern history, is twenty-four miles from Ostend, twenty from Calais, and fifty from Dover. Trade, and privateering, with the King's business, which is in course executed here, make it populous and flourishing. It is very well built ; the streets are broad, wide, and well paved. The fortifications, before their demolition, I imagine, were very good ; what they are present, I know not, but most certainly not demolished ; the harbour never was any thing formidable to England, not admitting any larger ships than frigates ; but the situation is so advantageous to cruizers, that the King's frigates, and multitude of privateers, made an infinity

nity of prizes, and it proved, in this manner, one of the most pernicious thorns, that could be in the sides of the trade of England. There are five squares in the town, all of them planted with trees, but they have not any thing very striking in them. The method also of building is not favourable to the beauty of the streets, for all the best houses have court-yards before them, and great gates into the streets. In one of the churches there is a picture of St. George, by Rubens, which has very great expression. The arsenal was once very well worth seeing, but is so no longer. Dunkirk carries on a considerable commerce, not only by being a free port, but also from principally supplying Lisle, and several other places of importance, with every thing they import, and sending forth whatever they export. The whole way from Bruges to Dunkirk is through a most rich soil, the grass and corn all as fine as ever I saw.

The second of July I left Dunkirk, taking a chaise for St. Omer's; the distance is twenty miles, and through a country very richly cultivated. I observed great quantities of clover in the fields, which was a second growth, the first having been cut some time before; it was now thick, and of a luxurious growth

growth ; the wheat crops were not at all superior (judging by the eye) to what is often seen in England. Cole seed they cultivate also ; they were transplanting it on small ridges, which, if I recollect right, is contrary to the English way of managing that crop ; we sow it like turnips ; the Flemings think their way much the best ; and certainly it cleans the ground better, than if all of it was so covered, as to let the weeds arise. I remarked several fields of turnips, but nothing in them extraordinary. Some tracts of country between these towns is light and sandy, but none in which the soil is bad.

St. Omer's is a large, and apparently a populous town, well and regularly built, and very strongly fortified ; but what most contributes to its strength is the situation, which is in the midst of a morass, so that by means of sluices, (of which they have an amazing number) they can lay the whole neighbourhood, for some miles, under water. The Jesuits college here is a very handsome building, consisting of two large squares ; they are called English Jesuits, and a great number of them were born in the British dominions. The Abbey of St. Bertris is a fine edifice ; from the tower, the conductor assures you, that you may, in a clear day, see the

the coast of England; but it is a falshood. There are some very considerable manufactories at St. Omer's, particularly of cloth, druggets, duroys, shalloons, and stockings, which are flourishing; these are mostly carried on by means of wool smuggled from England.

The same country and cultivation extends from St. Omer's to Bethune, as from Dunkirk to St. Omer's, only the woods are more frequent: it is but a small town, but neat; the fortifications are very strong.

The fourth of July I reached Arras, which is a considerable city, the capital of Artois; it is a populous and industrious place, situated upon a hill, at the foot of which runs a branch of the river Scarpe. The fortifications are reckoned very strong, especially the citadel. The buildings are handsome, the streets spacious, and well paved. The principal market-place is an oblong, with piazzas round it, but they have a disagreeable effect. They talk of having above an hundred churches and chapels belonging to this city, which sounds very magnificently, but they are most of them too trivial for notice, mean buildings, or crowded into holes and corners. The edifice, most worth seeing, is the Benedictine abbey, which enjoys

joys a revenue of thirty thousand crowns a year; the pictures, carving, and monuments, are very well worth notice. Arras possesses a considerable trade in her own manufactures, particularly in linen and woollen fabrics, and is very famous for tapestry.

From hence I made a small excursion to Cambray, through a very fertile country, that is extremely well cultivated; I was informed, that that city was as well worth viewing as most in Flanders, but I cannot say it answered my expectations. The fortifications are curious, particularly the citadel built by Charles V. which is a regular pentagon, cut mostly out of a rock. The manner in which the principal streets are laid out, to point to the market-square, like the rays of a circle to the center, is striking: that square is remarkably large, and the Stadthouse, which fronts it, is a fine building. In the great church, they show a chiming clock, the work of a country fellow, which, as such, deserves notice, but has not, in any other respect, merit enough to strike a spectator, used to such sort of works. But my principal view in coming to Cambray, was to see the famous cambric manufactory, which has been established here so long, and is so deservedly famous. They
certainly

certainly make that kind of linen to a perfection unknown at any other place in Europe; pieces of a great length weigh but a few ounces; they make it up to seventeen shillings an ell, but it is of an amazing fineness. I made numerous enquiries into the state of this manufacture, and from several persons well informed, and they seemed uniform in their opinions, that it is much upon the decline: they attribute much of this evil to the prohibition of it in England, to which kingdom their exports used to be very great; but now they are confined to the smuggling trade, which, though not trifling, bears no proportion to what they once possessed. The numbers of men, women, and children, employed in Cambray, and some adjacent villages, on the manufacture of cambric, does not fall short of seventeen hundred. The men earn at an average, at the rate of five shillings and sixpence a week, English; women, that are good hands, two shillings to three and sixpence, and children, from a penny to sixpence a day; but these prices are, when the employment is full, for at some seasons, they have much time without being able to get work.

Returning to Arras, I took a chaise for Doway the seventh, and found it a fine place, situated

situated very well in the midst of a territory remarkably fertile, superior, I think, to any I have lately seen; it is large, seems full of people, and is strongly fortified, like Cambray; the streets in it point regularly to the market-place, where is also the Town-house. The university consists of fourteen colleges, which they say are in a flourishing condition. Fort Scarpe is a vast out-work to Doway, so well placed, that by means of sluices at command, it can drown all the adjacent country.

From Doway to Tournay the country is very rich, and much of it cultivated in a masterly manner: the account, which a farmer gave me of their method of managing their lands, is, I think, curious. They never give, what we in England, call a fallow; that is, a year of mere tillage to kill all weeds and meliorate the exhausted soil. They think, the only good purpose of such a fallow is to kill weeds, but that the soil receives no other benefit from it. That on the contrary, they can sow it with crops, which will kill the weeds equally with any fallow, and at the same time much enrich it: this appeared to me so very desirable, that I listened to it with attention. Of these crops, turnips, rape, beans, and clover, were, I found,

found, the principal; what peculiarity they may have in their management, I do not know, but these plants are as common in England, as they are in Flanders, and yet the husbandry does not seem near so good. Rape they cultivate for the sake of the seed, from which they extract oil, for which purpose, there are many mills through all this part of Flanders. They prepare their lands richly for it, both by tillage and manuring; plough it into regular ridges, and then plant on them: it must be very expensive; they hand-hoe the plants carefully, to keep them free from weeds. As to the produce, the accounts, they gave me, were not very clear, but from the best computation I could make, it amounts one year with another to six or seven pounds an English acre. Turnips they prepare for in the same manner as rape, but transplant only a part of their crop; some they sow, where they are to remain: they likewise hand-hoe their turnips as well as the rape; use them chiefly for the winter-food of cows and oxen, all which animals are regularly housed, and the turnips given in mangers. They do not approve the English way of feeding turnips on the land; but as I wanted to know their reason for this, I enquired their motives: they think
the

the land would parch and be damaged, and the crop would not go near so far: whether they are right or wrong, I am no judge to decide, but what they urge, seems to have reason in it. An English acre of turnips they reckon worth four pounds: some crops they leave for seed to make oil from, mixed with rape seed; and such crops pay as well, and sometimes better, than rape.

But their principal fallow crops they reckon the clovers, of which they have three sorts, bearing a red, a yellow, and a white blossom; the first produces the greatest crops, but will not last more than two years; the other sorts yield a sweeter food for cattle, and will last five or six years, but the red is most in use. They sow it with barley and oats, in the same manner, that, I believe, is common in some parts of England: after harvest, the field is covered with a full crop, which supports a great number of cattle almost till Christmas; and this pasturage on their best lands is so great, that it sometimes pays all the expences of the year's crop, and leaves the barley clear profit. The following year, they mow the clover for hay, and get no less than three crops; and from what I viewed, I should suppose, each would produce a ton and a half on an English acre, and

and sometimes more. The next year, if they leave it so long, they usually feed it : and these crops of clover, though so very plentiful, they assert, improve the land, which is possible, to be sure, but I cannot easily comprehend, how such ample productions can do that benefit to the land ; however, the Flemish farmers have experience on their side ; for, upon giving these clover fields only one ploughing, they harrow in wheat, and get very fine crops, and as clean, I think, as any I ever saw in England : whether our management of clover is upon this method, I am not acquainted, but if not, I apprehend, it would be worthy the imitation of the English farmers. This clover preparation for wheat is in general on a pale reddish loam ; here and there, they have fields of clay, where it will not succeed. Another use, to which they put their clover, is, I believe, quite unknown in those parts of England, with which I am acquainted ; it is that of mowing, and giving it green to cattle in houses, instead of letting them eat it in the field ; they assert, that in this mode of consuming it, one acre goes as far, as several : certainly it merits a trial.

Their bean crops consist of many of the large sorts, common in England, and whole

fields of the kidney fort, which we call French beans: all these they sow in rows, and keeping them very clean by hoeing, get great crops, and fallow them with wheat or barley. Their wheat, I do not think, appears finer, than what I have seen in England, but their barley is much superior. They seem to be very attentive husbandmen in the article of manuring their lands: I observed several pits in the country, paved and roofed for keeping mixtures of dungs in; the human; they esteem the best.

There is a fine range of rich meadow land about Tournay. That town is large and well built, and the river Schelde, running through it, has many bridges, with several handsome quays, planted in the Dutch manner. It appears to be populous. In the cathedral are several monuments of brass and marble, that are very well worth viewing. The altar-piece of St. Martin's is of marble, richly adorned, and is fine; but the most deserving of attention in this church, is the picture by Rubens, of the crowning of our Saviour; in which the design, dignity of expression, and colouring, are remarkably fine. The fortifications of Tournay are some of the finest in Flanders; the citadel being esteemed the master-piece of Vauban;
all

all the works of it are undermined. There are several flourishing linen manufactures here, with some of stockings and worsted pieces, but the former are the principal.

From Tournay to Lisle, the country is all fertile and rich: I saw some fields, planting with coleseed, in which I counted more than thirty hands to a field, and they seem to execute it with great celerity. Lisle is the principal city of all these parts, at the distance of fifteen miles from Tournay. It is a large city, and more populous, than any I have been in, since I left Holland, to which, indeed, its garrison does not a little contribute, for it consists of ten thousand of the best troops of France. The regularity and spaciousness of the streets, with many of the buildings, make it really a very fine city: in the center of it is a great square, to which the principal streets lead. *La Rue Royale* extends above a mile, and is one of the finest, I have any where seen.

The fortifications are among the most famous in Europe, not having been taken, since the Duke of Marlborough took the city, after three months open trenches. The citadel is not regular, but very large, and uncommonly strong. In France, they

reckon this place, next to Paris, the most important in the kingdom.

They have a French opera, and a theatre for comedies, but neither of them abound with capital performers; the prices are cheap, yet the company is often very good. There are people enough in Lisle to maintain a great number of hackney coaches.

They carry on some very considerable manufactures here, particularly of linens, broad and narrow cloths, and druggets, many sorts of stuffs and stockings, and more than seven hundred looms are employed in making camlets. Great numbers of calimancoes, and other stuffs, wrought of silk and mohair; these fabrics are in general flourishing, though not equal to what they were above twenty years ago; there are, however, many thousands of hands employed in them.

It may not be wrong to add here, that I met with an excellent reception at the *Palais Royale*, in St. Martin's-street; excellent rooms, a good bed, and provisions and wine unexceptionable; but, in return, the bill is not moderate; I could not live there under a guinea and half a day, though I had no horses. Dearness, when every thing is good, is to be submitted to; but when met with,

as is often the case, where every thing is bad, it is not a little grating.

July 11th, I took a chaise from Lisle to Courtray, which is fifteen miles, most of the way through a country equally rich with the preceding. It is a pretty town, and very populous from the manufactures carried on in it, particularly of woollen and linen goods; for the latter of which, they are very famous: none, however, are in so flourishing a condition, as they were for some years before the last war.

From Courtray to Ghent, the country does not appear to be quite so fertile as that, through which I have lately travelled, but the husbandry is very good. They are here, extremely attentive to manuring; I remarked some labourers carting out the compost from a bricked stercorary; upon enquiry, I found, it was filled with the riddance of privies from Courtray, mixed with fine molds, and a small quantity of ashes. It had been before, turned over, to mix the ingredients well: they informed me, that a large quantity of earth should be mixed with the dung, and that this compost is of all manures, the most fertilizing. A lesson, which I should apprehend, very important to the farmers within ten miles of all great cities.

Ghent is one of the largest cities in Europe, being near fifteen miles in circumference. It is built on a large number of little islands, formed by four rivers, and many canals, over which there are an hundred bridges: but large and pompous as this account is, I must observe, that the reality bears no proportion to the description; more than half the ground within the walls, being occupied by gardens, and there are some fields. As to the fortifications, they are contemptible, being little more than lines for an army to encamp within. Some of the streets are large, well paved, and tolerably built. Among the public buildings, there are none worthy of any attention, but a few churches. They have very flourishing linen manufactures throughout all this country; but they are not confined to Ghent, though there are many in that town, but all the villages, and almost every farm, is a flax manufactory. Flax is a principal crop upon all the sandy parts of this country, and the farmers and labourers do not only grow it, but also dress and weave it, and the women and children spin it. Every little farmer has one or two looms, many of them five or six, and some seven or eight, according to the number of hands in the family. This makes
the

the whole race of country people remarkably active and industrious ; the servants, and the farmer, and his sons, will weave linen of nights, and in wet days, when they have not employment in the farm, and, in this manner, contribute greatly to earning a better income and maintainance for their families, than in other countries, where such time is appropriated to idleness. Besides these linen fabrics, they have at Ghent some silk and woollen manufactures.

The 13th, I took a chaise from Ghent for Brussels ; the distance is about thirty miles, which I performed with ease before dinner, and made two or three stops, to have some conversation with the country people. The soil is middling, but not so good, as I have seen in other parts of Flanders, but it is very well cultivated. I saw many fields of flax, which they keep remarkably clean from weeds : the crops seemed good. I also saw much fine clover, and pretty good corn crops.

I was drove directly to the Duke of Brabant's inn, where I fixed my residence, designing to stay a few days ; my intention was to have hired private lodgings, but I liked the inn so well, and the treatment I received, that I changed my mind, and deter-

mined to remain at the inn. Bruffels is far more beautiful, for the bombardment she suffered from Marshal Villeroy; for since 1696, the mischief he did, has been all made good by many new streets and public buildings, in a much better taste, than they were before. Many of the streets are well paved, some of them broad, and all the new houses large and well built.

Among the churches of Bruffels, there are some, that well deserve a traveller's notice. St. Gudula is a very remarkable Gothic pile, highly ornamented with monuments, chapels, pictures, &c. The Jesuits church has also several objects, deserving notice.

The great market square is one of the finest, I have any where seen: one whole side of it is taken up with the Town House, which is certainly a stupendous building; there is a very magnificent apartment, in which the States of Brabant meet; the history of Charles V. is wrought in the tapestry with a strength and brilliancy of colouring, that cannot be exceeded. There are other apartments, which contain numerous original paintings by the best Flemish masters. Other great advantages the market place enjoys, is being surrounded with the corporation halls of different trades, the fronts of which

which being uniform, and adorned, make a fine circumference.

The regent's palace, though an old irregular building, erected at different times, should not be passed over by any traveller. It is a very large edifice, and the apartments are extremely spacious and well furnished. Behind it, after crossing some silly unmeaning parterres, you enter a large park, well planted and stocked with deer. There are many very agreeable walks in it. On one side of it is a summer-house, built by the Emperor Charles V.

Among the other edifices, that are usually viewed, are the palaces of Orange, now belonging to the King of Prussia; the Princes De Ligne, Epinoy, Rubengue, and Egmont; and the Dukes of Aremberg, Arschot, and Bournonville. In the gardens of the latter, you have a very fine view of the greatest part of Brussels, and much of the adjacent country. I remarked, that the only objects of much consideration in these palaces, were the paintings, among which, and particularly in that of the Duke d'Aremberg's, are many very fine capital pieces, not only by the Flemish, but also by the Italian masters. A connoisseur will find no
flight

slight entertainment among these collections.

In respect to the diversions of Bruffels, there is a large Opera House, and two theatres, upon which French comedies are represented. The Opera House is very large, being more spacious than that in the Haymarket. Instead of boxes, in the London taste, it has large closets, after the Italian manner, which are hired for the season by the nobility and foreign ministers at a cheap rate; they contain tables, chairs, a fire, &c. so that parties are formed for cards and conversation, during the performance. But the prices of admission are too low to allow of great entertainment; their performers are but very moderate, and bad music is certainly an entertainment, that will not be relished by those, who have been the least acquainted with the luxurious entertainment, which the English and Italian operas yield.

The fountains, of which they have above twenty, at the corners of the principal streets, add much to the beauty of the city, and at the same time supply it well with water. They have a vast number of monasteries, nunneries, and hospitals, some of which I viewed, but found nothing in any of them remarkable.

The

The keeping up a court, gives an air of liveliness to Brussels, that is more agreeable, than what is found in most of the other cities in Flanders. What with the officers about the person of the governor-general; the residence of a considerable military; the chief courts of justice; with no slight portion of trade and manufacture, altogether render the place the most pleasing and chearful residence in Flanders. They are famous for the manufactory of lace, which is in a flourishing situation; and also that of tapestry, which is known very well all over Europe.

I had a recommendatory letter to the Baron de Walmode, who received me with a politeness and affability, which I cannot but acknowledge: he invited me to his table several days, and from his conversation, I learned more important information, than I could otherwise have gained. His estates in Brabant and Flanders are considerable, and he lives in a splendid and elegant manner. The Baron is a man of enlarged ideas, has travelled through the principal countries of Europe, and seen much of the busy world, while he was in the Imperial service; but he quitted it at fifty years of age, and retired to Brussels, dividing his time between the city and his estates in the country, wherein he
has

has two houses, which he has furnished for his reception, when inclined to rural diversions, or retirement from the city. I wanted to be informed of the political state of Austrian Flanders, the benefits accruing to the House of Austria from the possession, the revenues, &c. And in several of these points, the Baron gave me accounts, which are much more to be depended on, than the vague relations, which we meet with in the Gazettes of the age.

He said, that it was a mistaken notion, common in several of the courts of Europe, that the House of Austria received so little benefit from the possession of those provinces, that they were scarcely worth keeping, from the expences running away with all the profit. But all this, he remarked, was a mistake, as more regularity has been thrown into the government of the provinces, into the receipts of the revenue, and the expenditure of it: encouragement has been given to trade and manufactures, and the effects have been very beneficial. But suppose, continued the Baron, that profit was not received in the treasury at Vienna, still the advantage of a considerable body of troops being paid and maintained, is one of the most important nature. The provinces pay the
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the troops in garrison, and the forces of all forts, that are quartered here, which amount at different times, from six to twenty thousand men, and the opportunity of advancing numerous subjects to posts of honour and advantage, is valuable to any court.

These provinces, continued he, are populous, and are found highly serviceable in recruiting regiments; and as they possess much trade, and numerous thriving manufactures, they are a body of subjects of undoubted importance. However, these advantages are not all, for it is very well known, that considerable remittances are made to Vienna, notwithstanding the expences of maintaining a court here.

Many schemes of improving the trade and manufactures of this country have been started, and laid before the council for the provinces at Vienna; some of them have been approved of, and begun to be executed, but such things do not proceed with any very quick pace; yet something good will probably result from them by and by.

The acquisition of a share in foreign trade, by means of a good port on the ocean, promises most, and Ostend would certainly admit of very great exertions of this sort; they have been considered of at court more than

than once; but the remembrance of the ill success, attending the East India company established there, from the opposition of the Maritime Powers, prevented their execution.

All these improvements, though only a few of them are completed, have had astonishing tendency to raise the revenues of the country, and also the population of it; the Baron assured me, that in the last war, the Empress Queen drew considerable sums from the revenues of these provinces, and great numbers of recruits. I observed to him, that there was, in that war, a report of her Imperial Majesty's alienating them to France, in consideration of assistance to recover Silesia. He replied, that the out-line of that idea would have had a great appearance of probability, if France had been in a situation to undertake positively for the success of a Silesian conquest; for that province, from its situation, was certainly more valuable to Austria, than Flanders: but the utter inability of France was so visible and great, that it was impossible, the Empress Queen should be so deceived in her politics: nor is it clear, added he, whether such a revolution would not have brought the Dutch into the war against France, in spite of all their fear and caution; for the Austrian provinces, in
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the hands of France, would be death to the liberty of Holland, as all the ideas of a barrier would be thereby destroyed, and the Dutch provinces lie open to every sudden inroad, that might be attempted. What the rulers in Holland would say to it, is not easily conceived, but the populace, and lower ranks, would drive them into opposition.

The justness of the Baron's observations, I think, is clear; and I own, he convinced me, that there is no danger of seeing the Austrian Flanders in the hands of France, which would be almost as dangerous an event to England, as it would to Holland.

Respecting the present state of their manufactures, he informed me, that the government had exerted itself greatly in their favour, and in several instances with high success, but that it must in general be little further, than preventing a greater decline: that they had not one manufacture, comparable to what flourished in Flanders many years ago; that of laces was flourishing, but not near so considerable as formerly; and the same observation was applicable to those of fine linen and tapestry: indeed, the attention, given to manufactures in every country and state in Europe, cannot but have drawn much from the old fabric long established:

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no article of manufacture is found in Flanders, which is not strongly rivalled by some neighbour or other. This, with the internal mischiefs, resulting from freedoms of corporate towns, cramping the workmen, are very prejudicial to all industry in these provinces: the latter obstacle is much remedied by new regulations, but the former remains in full force.

Notwithstanding these impediments, the fabrics of the Austrian provinces are by no means inconsiderable; the towns are thick, and all of them have some manufacture or other: their linens, laces, stockings, caps, cloths, druggets, carpets, &c. &c. are all considerable, employing great numbers of hands, and bringing much money into the country.

It was not without pain, that I took my leave of the Baron, on my quitting Brussels; I found very few people, who had attended so much to the superior interests of their country, or that understood them better. He had an enlarged idea of the politics of Europe, and seemed perfectly well to understand the true conduct of every neighbouring power.

C H A P. II.

From Brussels to Mechlin—Antwerp—Description of that City, and of its fine Paintings—Journey to Ruremond—General Observations on Flanders—Number of Cities—Population—Trade—Manufactures—Agriculture—Situation—Political importance.

JULY 20th, I left Brussels, taking the road to Mechlin in my way to Antwerp; the distance is twelve miles, through a light sandy country, not near so rich as what I had lately travelled, but their management of it seemed very good; though some of it was not cultivated at all, yet all, that was under crops, seemed to yield very good ones. Flax I observed to grow very well on these sands, but they manured them very richly for the crop. I saw much clover, that was very fine, and many fields of barley and oats, that almost rivalled the products of much better soils; but I do not remember seeing one crop of wheat. They plough here with much greater dexterity, than ever

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I saw in England ; for the ploughman has no driver, although they use four horses at a time ; he has reins to all the horses, and a long coach-whip, which he sticks into a socket, made on purpose to receive it, in the beam of his plough : they use only wheel-ploughs, and the country people think, that no plough in the world can equal their true Flemish one. I remarked their furrows, and found, that they went very shallow ; their motive for which, is keeping the good soil at top, which has been manured, and not ploughing down to the sharp sand, which has never received any improvement. On some low spots, between little sandy eminences, they plant hops, which, by means of good manuring, and much cultivation, they make a profitable crop.

Mechlin is a considerable city, very well situated for communication and trade with Antwerp, Brussels, and Louvaine, by means of the rivers Dyle and Demer, which join, before they arrive at this place, and united, run through it ; there are besides, several canals, and a great many bridges thrown over them. The streets are in general well built, and the market-place is large. Mechlin is famous for the manufacture of the lace, that goes by its name. It is chiefly made in the
nunnery

nunnery of the Beguines; a kind of nuns, without those vows, which bind the common ones to the monastic life, being at liberty, at any time, to quit the confinement and marry; there are generally seven or eight hundred young women in it, employed upon the lace, which brings a good price all over Europe. They are also famous in this place for founderies of bells, and great guns, and, in an inferior degree, for brewing good beer, which they export in considerable quantities. Mechlin is an agreeable place to reside at, from the diversions, which are going on at it; this is principally owing to the number of nobility, who make it their residence.

From Mechlin to Antwerp, the road runs through a poor sandy country, much of it waste and covered with heath. That city is situated in a low fenny spot; but it is seven miles in circumference, surrounded with a good wall, and many bastions, faced with stone. These fortifications, however, are of no other consequence, than to defend it against sudden incursions, but they are very beautiful, for the top of the wall is an hundred feet broad, and doubly planted with rows of trees. The only strength of it is the citadel, which is the famous one, erected by the Duke of Alva. It stands close to the river Schelde,

on the South side of the city ; it is a regular fortification, and very strong, commanding all the town, and the adjacent country for some distance. There are five principal bastions to it, which command each other, and defended by two very deep and wide ditches. It was the erection of this fortress, that gave the great blow to the vast trade, which Antwerp once carried on. Here was the statue, which the Duke of Alva caused to be made, representing himself in a military attitude, trampling the nobility and people under feet; and which roused the spirit of the populace so much, that they broke into the citadel on a holiday, and utterly demolished the statue. Here are many considerable magazines for military stores, and barracks for a garrison of four thousand men.

The river at Antwerp is twenty feet deep, and, at high water, rises twenty feet more, which makes it an excellent harbour, into which ships of the greatest burthen may be admitted to unload their cargoes at eight of the principal canals in the town. These were the advantages, which carried their trade to such a height ; but the Dutch, building Fort Lillo, which totally commanded the approach, and, in consequence, making all ships, that passed pay toll, was a fatal stroke to their trade,

trade, and drove the chief of it to Amsterdam.

Antwerp has many remains of its former magnificence, particularly in the breadth, length, and regularity of the principal streets, and many of the public buildings and churches. It has twenty-two squares, two hundred and twelve streets, and seven gates, from each of which runs a street, terminating at the cathedral square. The street, called La Mere, is the finest in the city; it is very well paved, and is so wide, that five coaches may pass in it abreast with great ease; it is also very well built, and in general of free stone: many of the other streets also make a very good appearance, being broad, strait, and handsome. The better sort of houses, throughout the city, are in general large, lofty, and contain good apartments. From the decay of trade, many of them are lett at very low rates: most have court-yards and gardens, which make them very agreeable to live in; many of them are indeed in the antient stile of building, which is not so graceful in appearance.

The markets here are numerous, and most of them well supplied; that for fish is near the river, and abounds with great plenty, that is excellent: and that for fruit and garden-

stuff is well supplied by numerous country carts, in which the peasants bring the produce of their little farms ; but much comes by water. One square is called the Friday market-place, in which, of a market day, are to be seen many sales by auction of furniture, and some of pictures, where are to be picked up sometimes valuable pieces by Flemish masters.

Nothing can be more melancholy, than to view the house of the Hanse towns, built in 1468, (a time in which this city was so flourishing) for the use of the merchants, trading to the Baltic. It is a square edifice of 230 feet, and all of stone: the upper floors were ample magazines for all sorts of dry merchandize, with vast cellars for the wet goods, which are now converted to stabling for troopers horses, and the magazines to hay-lofts ; a sad spectacle of the building, which once was the residence of wealth and industry, and shews, how miserable a fall any place undergoes, that loses a once established trade.

Very near the street La Mero, is the Exchange, said to be the first building of the kind, raised in Europe ; and from which, Sir Thomas Gresham is said to have taken his idea of that of London. Four streets meet at

at it, and it has four great gates, answerable to them : the parades are supported by above forty marble pillars ; the length of it is 180 feet, and the breadth 140. Beneath it, are vaults and magazines for goods ; and over it, are the apartments of an academy of painting, sculpture, and architecture. The expence of this building is said to have amounted to three hundred thousand crowns, at a time when money was much dearer, than it is at present.

The Stadthouse is very well worth viewing ; it is all of free stone, surrounding three courts, with a very magnificent front, decorated with statues and a cupola. The Dutch, from an observation, that the trade of Antwerp began to decline the year this building was finished, have superstitiously delayed completing the Stadthouse at Amsterdam, lest the same fate should attend the commerce of that city ; but their precaution has been vain, for their trade has greatly declined, notwithstanding the unfinished state of their Town-house.

In this edifice are several paintings much deserving the attention of the connoisseurs in that art, and among others, are the following :

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The virgin of Antwerp, by Abraham Janssens. This is a very capital piece, it is naturally executed, yet with a minute expression.

A holy family, by Gerard Zeghers.

Game and fowls, by Snyders; the figures by Rubens. This is one of the finest pictures in the collection; nothing can be more exact than the imitation of the game, and the figures are touched in Ruben's masterly manner.

Three triumphal arches, by Rubens.

A whole chapel, painted by Henry Verbruggen, and very well executed. The altar and crucifix are the work of Michael Vervoort the elder; they are very fine.

Concord, by Abraham Janssens.

An altar-piece, admirably executed, by Cornelius Schut.

The elders, exercising the bow, by Biget; the architecture by Herdenberg, and the landscape part by Himmetraet. This appears to be a very valuable piece.

Antwerp was once the grand emporium of almost all the commerce in Europe, which was owing to three principal causes. First, To the liberty, which reigned here. Second, To the advantages of its situation and port, for above four thousand sail of ships

ships could lay in perfect safety in the canals at a time. And thirdly, To the near neighbourhood of the most flourishing manufactures then in Europe, which were carried on in all the Flemish towns. Bruges possessed the greatest share of trade, before Antwerp arose to such a height; but the wars, which broke out in Flanders in the beginning of the sixteenth century, drove most of the merchants from the former place to the latter. They reckon the trade of the city at its height about the year 1568, when they computed the inhabitants at two hundred thousand: their harbour, at that time, contained very often 2500 ships at a time, and 500 were commonly seen to go out, or come in, in a day. The annals of the city inform us, that in the year 1550, the trade amounted to one hundred and thirty-three millions, exclusive of the bank. The Antwerpers, to this day, are fond of telling the story of John Daens, their famous merchant, who lent the Emperor, Charles V. a million of gold, and afterwards entertained him most magnificently; had a fire of cinnamon, and, in the Emperor's presence, threw the bond into it. But such a tale, as little becomes the modern city, as the action did the antient one.

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But all their prosperity was no security against the tyranny of their Sovereign, Philip II. who I take to be a much more detestable monster, than Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian, or Heliogabalus, for he had all their faults, (except low buffoonery) without any of their good qualities: this wretch of a monarch, and his blood-hound the Duke of Alva, presently drove all trade from Antwerp, so that the fall of the city was much quicker than its rise. After being twice sacked, there was much of it burnt down in 1576, and brought into such a condition, as was utterly incompatible with trade: the merchants therefore fled in whole troops; the Dutch received them; they had just formed their infant republic. Amsterdam began to be a place of trade; they removed thither, and carried with them their correspondence and industry. At the same time, the Dutch built Fort Lillo, in Zealand, which commanded the entry of the harbour, and made all ships pay toll; this gave the finishing stroke to the trade of Antwerp, which afterwards retained but few marks of that amazing commerce, she once possessed.

Upon the loss of their trade, the inhabitants gave their attention principally to
banking,

banking, jewelling, and painting. In the first, they have always been proficient, and carried it to a great extent, even in the present times : during the Duke of Marlborough's war, two brothers, the De Konnings, paid, one the army of France, and the other that of the Allies. Some of their painters were of note in the Flemish school, before the time of Rubens, but that great master laid the principal foundation of their fame ; he established their school, and, under the influence of his genius, painting long flourished here ; so that Antwerp has produced more good artists in this way, than any other town in the Netherlands. Antwerp has likewise been famous for printing, the Plantin editions, being much esteemed in the learned world. Plantin's printing-house remains (though imperfect) at this time, and is said, by the Antwerpens, to be the best in Europe, having been supplied with near an hundred different sorts of fonts of letters, two of which were Syriac, forty-seven Roman, nine Greek, and ten Hebrew.

But Antwerp, though so much reduced from its antient splendor, is yet a place of consequence : here is some trade carried on, for which it is yet well situated, and has, behind it, numerous cities in Flanders, &c.

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to supply with foreign commodities: they have also several flourishing manufactures, a considerable lace trade, and a share of the linen fabrics, &c. It is also an agreeable place to reside in, from the number of nobility and people of large fortune, who live in it. Through their patronage a theatre has been rebuilt, and also an apartment for the performance of concerts. The first is a very beautiful and well contrived edifice, well furnished with scenery and machines; it is also richly ornamented with paintings by D'heur and Michael Vervoort the younger. A company of French comedians exhibit here three times a week in winter. The same masters ornamented the concert-room, where a concert is performed once a week, for two months, in winter.

From my first coming to Antwerp I was made to expect much entertainment in several of the churches; and I should have been better satisfied, had not my expectation been raised too much: however, there are numerous pictures in them of most capital merit, and they are indeed the richest, that Antwerp has to bestow on strangers.

In the church of the Dominican nuns is an altar-piece, representing a crucifixion; a large picture by Vandyke. It is a capital performance

performance of that very capital painter, and an instance of that remarkable chastity of colouring, in which he was so excellent.

In the church of the nuns of the Annunciation is a small altar-piece by Rubens, representing the holy child Jesus: there is merit in it, but not equal, to what is often seen in the works of this master. Here is also a portrait of the founder of the Cloister, by Vandyke, which deserves much admiration.

In the church of the Beguines is an altar-piece, representing the descent from the cross, by Vandyke, which is extremely capital; the ideas are great, and the colouring pure. Near it are two figures, finely executed in white marble, by Scheemaeckers.

The resurrection, the annunciation of the Virgin, and the ascension, all by Langen Jan, done in Vandyke's manner, and equal to many of the pieces of that celebrated painter.

St. Francis, by Guido, but not comparable to the best works of that master. A crucifixion, by Jordaens, which has merit.

In the church of St. James, an elevation of the cross, by Vervoort the elder, deserves to be mentioned.

Another

Another piece of the last supper, by Ottort Van Veen, is finely done. Also the statues of St. Paul and St. Peter, executed by Williamsens and Verbruggen, which will call for attention from every one, that sees them.

An altar-piece, by Gerard Zegers.

A bas relief, by Scheemaeckers, excellently done. Among the chapels in this church, those of Zumalos, Candoles, and Rubens, are highly adorned. In the latter is an altar-piece, painted by himself, in which is his own portrait under the figure of St. George. Also the portrait of his first and second wives, executed better than in most of the numerous pieces, in which he introduced them. Over one of them is a statue of a virgin in white marble, brought by Rubens from Italy; it is an exquisite piece, but the sculptor unknown.

Our Lady, with an accompaniment of saints, by Jordaens.

A statue of the Virgin, with two cherubs weeping, by Van Beveren, finely executed.

Two others of St. John and St. Paul, by Michael Vervoort; these have great merit.

In the Peter's monument, a picture of eternity, by Vervoort; a strange idea, but displays the hand of a master.

The

The cathedral of Antwerp is a vast building, and full of ornaments of painting, statuary, and rich carving. Among other objects, which attracted my notice particularly, are the following :

In the Grand Almoner's apartment, the portrait of a burgomaster, by Vandyke, an excellent piece.

Two ladies, and a butcher with a broken head, finely executed, by Coeberger. St. Paul, a tinker, and a monkey, might be clapt together with as much propriety : but the painters of the Flemish school, Rubens and Vandyke, with a very few others excepted, are utterly destitute of a chain of great ideas, ever thrown into one piece ; you look in vain to their works for an action, complex in its nature, but rendered one, by the genius of the artist : good colouring, and a masterly imitation of still life, are their great excellencies ; minute finishing is carried by them to the highest perfection.

The miracle of the loaves and fishes, by Martin de Vos, is a striking piece.

Children turning a wine-press, a bas relief, by Quillin, admirably performed.

The fall of the rebellious angels, by Francis Floris.

The last supper, by Otton Van Veen.

The

The taking down from the cross, by Rubens; one of the finest pieces I have seen by this master; it is a very large picture, with many figures, and all executed in the highest stile of this painter: it has two great folding doors before it, on one of which is represented the visitation, and on the other the purification of the Virgin. On the inside of one of them is painted St. Christopher, carrying Jesus across a river; and on the inside of the other, a hermit, with his eyes fixed on that Saint. The whole executed by Rubens, and have so much of that famous master's best manner in them, that they cannot fail of being highly admired by all lovers of painting. This performance was copied in 1704, by Opstal, a Dutch artist, for Marshal de Villeroy.

The marriage of the Virgin with Joseph, by Van Eyck.

A very fine landscape, by Momper.

A nativity, by Martin de Vos.

The resurrection, by Rubens, not in his best manner. There are two folding doors before it, painted by the same artist; St. John on one, and St. Barbe on the other, and an angel on the inside of each, all by the same hand.

The

The day of judgment, by De Backer. There is much accuracy in the design of this picture.

An altar-piece, representing our Saviour in the midst of the Doctors, by Francis Francken the elder. The faces of most of the Doctors are portraits of many of the principal reformers, such as Luther, Calvin, &c. &c. On one of the folding doors is St. Ambrose, baptizing St. Augustine; on the other, the miracle of Elisha; both by the same artist.

A holy family, with two figures in a posture of adoration, finely executed by Rubens.

The martyrdom of St. Crispin and Crispianus, by Ambrose Francken; it is a good picture, notwithstanding many faults.

The marriage at Cana, by Martin de Vos. The land of promise, by ditto.

The incredulous Thomas a Didymus, by Martin de Vos. One of the folding doors represents the baptism of our Lord; and the other, the decollation of St. John. These pieces have a very superior merit.

The painters, drawing the Virgin, by Martin de Vos. Not a bad piece, but inferior to that last mentioned.

St. John, preaching in the wilderness, by Henry Van Balen. The picture has merit, but the figure of St. John is totally wanting in dignity.

The temptation of St. Anthony. One of the folding doors represents St. Hubert; and the other, St. Rock. All by Martin de Vos, and equal to any thing I have seen of that artist's performance.

Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. On one folding door the baptism of St. Constantine; on the other, the church of St. Peter at Rome; on one side St. George on horseback, on the other St. Margaret and a dragon; with three other small pieces, all by Martin de Vos.

The descent from the cross. On one of the folding doors, St. John, thrown into a cauldron of oil; on the other, Herodias dancing, in order to procure the head of St. John, by Quintin Matsis, the famous blacksmith painter of Antwerp. In the troublesome times of the city this piece was sold, but the magistrates of the city afterwards redeemed it by the advice of Martin de Vos, for the sum of fifteen hundred florins. There is great force of imitation in it, in that painter's well-known stile, with a minute expression; but Herodias is void of all grace
and

and elegance : indeed the difficulty of catching the grace of motion, which scarcely gives an attitude, is some excuse for the execution, though none for the attempt : the great Italian masters understood their art too well to attempt it, for I do not recollect an instance of their giving the representation of a person dancing.

The Virgin, accompanied by angels, by Cornelius Schut ; excellently done in his stile of painting.

St. Anne, by Michael Coxie. The conductor tells you, that this piece always was much esteemed by Rubens.

The nativity, by Francis Floris. One of his last pieces.

A dead Christ, leaning on the bosom of his mother. On one of the folding doors is painted the Virgin with an infant Jesus ; and on the other, St. John the Evangelist. On the inside of the same doors are painted our Lord, and the Virgin his mother ; the whole by Rubens, but not in his finest manner.

There is nothing striking in the monument of Quintin Matsis, but it is always shewn to strangers for the singularity of his history. The iron work of the pump, near the monument, which is very curious, was

wrought by him, and only with a hammer : he executed many such works, and it is observable, that he never made use of a file in the polishing any piece of any iron work whatsoever.

This cathedral is upon the whole very nobly ornamented, and its architecture, in the Gothic stile, is not inferior to any edifice in all the Low Countries. It is five hundred feet long, and two hundred and forty feet broad. The height is three hundred and sixty feet, and it is supported by one hundred and twenty-five large pillars. It was erected in the thirteenth century. The first stone of the choir was laid by the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1521. In the year 1533, all was reduced to ashes by fire, except the choir and the tower. The next year it was rebuilt in a superior stile. The tower is a fine building, light and striking. The height is four hundred and sixty-six feet high ; it was begun in 1422, and not completely finished, till 1518. Strangers are conducted up to the height of four hundred feet, by a stair-case of six hundred and twenty-two steps. Nothing can well be finer, than the view, exhibited from the top of this fine steeple, not only of a vast tract of country for many miles round, but of several
very

very considerable cities; such as Malines, Brussels, Louvaine, Liere, Ghent, &c. There is a musical clock, which plays chimes every hour, half hour, quarter, and half quarter, consisting of near eighty bells. The largest bell weighs sixteen thousand pounds, and was erected in the year 1440.

In the church of the Capuchins, among other pictures, is a crucifixion, by Rubens, which is fine.

St. Francis, by the same master.

A dead Christ, greatly done, by Vandyke.

A descent from the cross, by Coeberger.

In the church of the Recollects I observed particularly a crucifixion, by Rubens, very well done, with a brilliancy not always found in the productions of his pencil.

A crucifix, by the same master; very fine.

Christ, shewing his wounds, and the portraits of burgomaster Rock and his wife, by Rubens; a piece, that does honour to the genius of this great painter.

A Virgin, with an infant Jesus on her lap, by Holbein; very fine.

A small crucifix, by Rubens.

A descent from the cross, by ditto.

A St. Catharine, by Vandyke.

St. Francis, by Rubens. There are many figures very nobly executed.

A large descent from the cross, by Vandyke; one of the finest works I remember to have seen by that great painter.

A portrait of Alexander Scaglia, by Vandyke. It is fine, and large as the life.

The Virgin in her glory, by Rubens.

We also find in the church of the Dominicans, several very fine pieces. Among others, a Christ, threatening to punish the world, by Rubens; which is fine.

The altar-piece, executed in marble, by Verbruggen, is striking. The statue of St. Paul, remarkably beautiful.

The Virgin, distributing the rosary to the world, by Michael Angelo Caravaggio.

Near it, a statue of St. Rosa in white marble, by Quillin.

A large picture of the nativity, by Rubens.

St. Dominic, by Michael Angelo Buonrotti.

Christ, bearing the cross, by Vandyke.

A council, by Rubens; this piece is incomparably fine.

Jesus scourged, by Rubens; admirably executed.

The Jesuit's church is one of the most beautiful edifices to be seen in all Flanders; the architecture has uncommon merit; the workmanship is very masterly, and it is full of

of fine paintings; the finest marble, intermixed with jasper, porphyry, and gold; nor can any thing be more magnificent, than the chapel adjoining. Among other paintings, the following are particularly admired :

The assumption of the Virgin, by Rubens ; finely done.

The holy family, by John Lievens. This piece has merit.

Christ's appearance after his resurrection, and St. John and the Virgin, both by Gerard Zeghers.

The circumcision, by Cornelius Schut.

A holy family, by Zeghers.

Angels, by Rubens ; finely executed.

A holy family, by Rubens. The design excellent.

St. Ignatius, exorcising a person possessed, by Rubens. The design and execution of this picture are equally to be admired.

St. Xavier, raising a man from the dead. This is also by Rubens, and much admired.

The erection of the cross, by Zeghers. Boldly done in dark masses of shade.

A holy family, by Carrache.

Four large statues of St. Ignatius, St. Francis, St. Xavier, and St. Stanislaus, all by Quillin. There is merit in the execution,

but not equal to the other works of this artist.

St. Xavier, on his knees before the Virgin, by Zeghers.

In the library is seen a portrait of Rubens, drawn in pen and ink by himself, and executed in the most inimitable manner; with a minute expression, so mixed with freedom, that it is beyond the power of the graver to equal it.

A holy family, with many figures, by Vandyke. A very fine picture.

The portrait of St. Herman Joseph, by the same hand, and most admirably executed.

This apartment is ornamented with twenty-seven cieling-pieces, some of which are very well executed; they are by various masters.

The little head of an angel in marble, executed by Quillin, is much admired, and with justice.

The annunciation of the Virgin, by Rubens.

A crucifixion, by Zeghers.

In the church of the bare-footed Carmelites, the marriage of St. Joseph with the Virgin, by Zeghers, is one of the finest pieces, I have seen of that master.

A descent

A descent from the cross, by Rubens.

The Virgin with St. Anne, &c. by ditto : which is very fine.

Christ, appearing to St. Theresa, by the same hand. This piece, they say, is much admired, but I must own, it does not strike me.

St. Theresa, by Zeghers.

In the church of the Grand Carmelites, among other pieces, are,

The Virgin and St. Catharine, by Willebrots, has very great merit.

A portrait, by Vandyke.

A dead Christ, by Rubens.

The adoration of the Magi, by Otten Van Veen.

The chapel of the Virgin is remarkably beautiful; it is entirely composed of white marble, designed and executed by Scheemaeckers : it is surrounded with bass reliefs. The altar is all of marble, with various decorations of silver, with a statue of the Virgin in that metal. The door of the chapel is very neatly executed, and over it are three bronzes of very fine workmanship.

Christ's interment, by Abraham Janssens.

In the church of the Friars of St. Augustin are,

A holy

A holy family, a very large picture, by Rubens, with many figures; it is one of his finest pieces,

St. Augustin, in a transport of devotion, by Vandyke. He is lifting up his eyes to heaven, where he is supposed to see Jesus Christ. This, their catalogue tells you, is the very best performance of that great painter: it certainly has a wonderful merit; there is a strength and majesty of expression, with an elegance and freedom of design, that is seldom seen; the colours are chaste and agreeable, and, in a word, the whole piece strikingly fine.

The martyrdom of St. Apollonius, by Jordaens. Very strongly executed.

A crucifix, by Vandyke; admirably fine. Upon painting the above-mentioned capital picture of St. Augustin he demanded six hundred florins as his price; but the monks disputing with him, he insisted on his terms, but let them have this crucifix very cheap. They could now be sold for thirteen thousand guineas. Such is the fate of the most ingenious part of mankind! they can scarcely live by the sale of their productions, but long after they are dead and buried, the world begins to find out their merit, and values
single

single efforts of their genius, at ten times more than their whole fortune.

In the church of St. Michael's abbey, the altar-piece, representing the adoration of the Magi, is by Rubens, and exceedingly fine.

The portrait of an abbot, by the same master.

St. Norbert, by Rubens.

St. Norbert, by Cornelius de Vos. It is done in Vandyke's manner, but not equal to the best of his pieces, as the catalogue of the monks tells you.

The history of the sick man in the gospel, by Erasmus Quillin. What the fathers mean by asserting in their catalogue, that this picture is not inferior to any performance of Paul Veronese, I cannot conceive; for I have seen many works of that master, infinitely superior.

In the Fort church, nothing is more worthy of attention, than the monument of the Marquis del Pico, one of the governors of the citadel. He is represented, as suddenly starting from sleep, and in amazement at the sight of two skeletons, standing before him. Over his head two cherubs weep, one holding a shield, and the other a helmet. Between them stands Fame, with the arms of the Marquis in one hand, and her trumpet.

pet in the other; the whole decorated with a great number of military insignia. It is the work of Scheemaeckers, and is, I think, one of his best performances. In the year 1746, at the siege, a bomb damaged it considerably, but it is since repaired very well. The altar, by the same artist, is also a most magnificent piece of sculpture.

In the church of St. Andrew, among other pieces, are,

A guardian angel, by Quillin.

The last supper, by Eyckens the elder.

Christ, fastened to the cross, by Vandyke; inferior to his best manner.

In the church of St. George:

A portrait of Velours, by Vandyke.

A last supper, by Martin de Vos.

The monument of the Van Delfts, by Scheemaeckers, is a fine piece of sculpture.

A portrait of Smellinck, a painter, by Vandyke.

In the church of St. Walburge:

A crucifixion, by Rubens. This picture has very great merit, it is executed with great force and spirit.

St. Eloy, and St. Catharine, with two others, all belonging to the above crucifixion, by Rubens.

The

The Lord's supper, by Martin de Vos.
This is well executed.

I may, upon the whole, remark, that these churches at Antwerp afford the curious traveller infinitely more entertainment, than those of any three other cities in all the Netherlands. It is for this reason, that I have been so particular in my notes; they are very little known in England, not having been visited by the travellers, who have published their remarks: and the only account I have seen of them, is a little catalogue, sold at the inns at Antwerp, and by the booksellers there, written in French; but this is no more than a catalogue, the author having seldom ventured to make any remarks, and those, that have escaped him, are not always just.

July 27th, I left Antwerp, and enquiring the best way of getting to Cologne in Germany, which was the route, I intended taking, I found the road ran thro' a country, in general sandy and waste: the distance to Ruremond, the first place of any consideration, is eighty three miles; that I should meet with no town by the way, better than a large village; Tournhout, Postel, and Wert, were the only ones, I should see. I agreed with my landlord, at Antwerp, for a chaise and saddle-horse

horse to Ruremond, and he engaged, that I should perform it in two days. I was to pay at the rate of six and twenty shillings English a day, which I did not think high, as the distance was considerable.

I found the road bad, and the country very dreary : so many miles of it was a deep sand, that I doubted very much, whether my Antwerp landlord had given horses sufficiently good for answering his engagement, and my suspicions proved true : from that city to Tournhout is twenty miles, which took us eight hours ; I made but a short stay at a very bad inn, and pushed on for Postel, which is twenty miles further. This place, however, we could not reach that night, but were forced to take up our lodging at a miserable cabaret on the road, where I slept in a great chair, wrapped up in a Hussar cloak. It was eleven o'clock next day, before I got to Postel : the country is all but indifferent ; some of it is cultivated, but not, by many degrees, so well as the other parts of Flanders. The country people were busy in their harvest, and, I observed, were such slovens, as to carry in their wheat crops loose, like barley and oats, and not bound up in sheaves : the crops of all sorts appeared but indifferent. Much of the soil I passed, would do as well for
flax,

flax, &c. as any in the best part of Flanders, but they cultivate none : much of this, I suppose, is owing to a want of that populousness, for the thick towns, near the coast, bring a market for such productions, and indeed for all others, which these waste tracts do not enjoy : and it is most certainly of the highest importance to the agriculture of any tract, that a market for every thing should be ready and good. The manufactures in Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Mechlin, Louvaine, &c. enrich all the country around, and induce the farmers to cultivate flax on soils, which would not otherwise probably be cultivated at all.

From Postel I went to Wert, a little place, but much superior to the former. The inn is kept by a clean Dutch woman, who gave me some greens, a fowl, and a dish of eggs, so that I fared, all things considered, very decently : here I discharged my chaise and horses, finding, upon enquiry, that I could get post-horses to Ruremond for myself and servant, and a conveyance the next day for the baggage. This saved my time, and enabled me to reach that town at night.

Ruremond is situated on the Maese, at its junction with the Roer, from whence it takes its name. It is a large and populous town,
and

and rich, from carrying on an advantageous commerce on the rivers. The fortifications are pretty strong, and might be much more so, with the addition of a few out-works. There is a very rich monastery of Carthusians here, but they have not any thing, much worthy of notice to shew, except a chapel richly adorned.

And here, as I take my leave of the provinces, which commonly go under the name of Flanders, it will be proper to give a few general remarks, which I made, in passing through the country.

The most striking object, which must strongly catch the attention of a traveller, is the number, greatness, and populousness of the cities and towns, and the beauty of many of the public buildings. These towns abound with trade, manufactures, industry, amusement, and pleasure; and although some of them are vastly declined from that pitch of prosperity, in which they once figured, yet they, at present, form, upon the whole, a richer and more considerable country for its size, than any in Europe, the province of Holland alone excepted; and this degree of present importance is a remarkable instance of a country, retaining its consideration, after it has lost the principal part of its commerce;

commerce; this can be owing only to two circumstances, which are the happiness of its situation, and the great fertility of its soil.

Some writers have remarked, that the best husbandry is usually found in the most barren and sterile spots, and have quoted Switzerland, where agriculture flourishes remarkably; but Flanders is a strong exception to this rule, which, it must be confessed, has much of philosophy in it; for this country is cultivated, in a degree of perfection, not to be found any where else, at the same time, that the soil is esteemed the richest and most fertile in Europe. They have the principal essentials of good husbandry in their practice, keeping the land perfectly free from weeds, and at the same time cropping it perpetually, so that they hardly know, what a fallow is.

Another observation I have to make is, that agriculture has here maintained its empire for many ages; for we learn from history, that these provinces were cultivated in a manner much superior to the rest of Europe, so early as their being first considerable for their woollen manufactures, which is between six and seven hundred years ago, ever since the Flander husbandry has been proverbial, and it is now, as famous, as when

the rest of Europe was almost covered with marshes and sandy deserts: this great excellency of their management has stood all the attacks of the violent civil wars in the reign of Philip the Second, it being the common theatre of most of the wars in Europe, from the Duke of Parma's time, in 1580, &c. to 1748, which is one of the most remarkable instances of the stability of good husbandry, that is to be met with in the annals of history. Their trade and manufactures both fled, but the industry of their peasants never failed.

The situation of these provinces renders them, in the views of ambition, a very important object in the politics of Europe. There is no other spot of ground of the same size, that is of equal consequence; a truth, amazingly exemplified by the variety of successive contests and wars, which have for more than two hundred years engaged all the neighbouring potentates, to get possession of them. Had Philip the Second of Spain avoided the long wars with the Dutch, which quite wasted his strength, the entire possession of this territory, more complete, than ever it has been to any Sovereign since, would have enabled him to become much more formidable to the rest of Europe. It was from
Flanders

Flanders, that he principally exerted his great strength, as if from the seat of his empire. Not only the war with Holland took its direction from thence, but also his expeditions into France; and a principal part of the invincible Armada, indeed the most important of it, was the Duke of Parma's army in Flanders. When Lewis XIV. became the principal actor upon the theatre of Europe, he made great exertions to conquer the Netherlands; he gained considerable provinces, and had he been able to master the whole, there can be little doubt, but his power would have been so solidly founded, that the opposition of the rest of Europe would have been of but little consequence. Holland would have been left utterly at his mercy, and become at once dependant on his will: England would have had a whole coast of Dunkirks extending to the very mouth of the Thames; and neither she, nor any other power, would have been able to have made a tract of country, the theatre of war against the common enemy, that was equally open to her and Germany for uniting their arms; a point of such importance, that nothing could make amends for the want of it. In whatever light, the acquisition of these provinces is viewed with relation to France,

while her power was on the increase, there can be no doubt, but they would have rendered her too strong for all her neighbours. The gaining a dominion so full of people, trade, manufactures, industry, and cultivation, thronged with cities and towns, cut in every part by navigable canals, commanding a good extent of coast; this alone would have been an object of very great consequence; but when the peculiar circumstances of strength and situation are added, the case becomes too clear for hesitation.

As the neighbours of France were fortunate enough to preserve the principal part of the provinces from the rapaciousness of her ambition, they therein secured the liberties of Europe; and luckily, there is no other rising power, whose greatness gives reason to fear her aiming at universal monarchy: the possession of them, in the House of Austria, can give umbrage to no part of Europe, unless so strict an alliance was formed between her and France, as to force the Dutch into a war; and in such a case, Holland might be in danger. That republic would for ever be secure in her independency, whatever ills befell her trade, if these provinces were added to her dominion by a union, as complete, as that, which binds the

Seven.

Seven. She would then, in all probability, have never any thing to dread from the power of France.

On the other hand, there might be a dominion formed by an union of the Austrian Netherlands with the bishoprics of Liege, Cologne, &c. and some other German territories, which, in many exigencies of the affairs of Europe, might tend strongly to preserve peace, by holding a balance between the three powers that are most likely to break it, France, Austria, and Prussia.

At any rate, these provinces are of such importance, that the neighbouring powers of Europe should, at all events, make it a standing rule in their politics, not to suffer them, on any account, to fall into the hands of France. That kingdom, it is true, is a sinking power, but no-body knows, what consequences might attend, what renovation might follow, such an acquisition; certainly Holland, and all her trade, would be in the most imminent danger; and if a Prince of real abilities mounted the throne of France, fully bent upon restoring the lustre of that monarchy; if he became an encourager of trade, of manufactures, agriculture, and all the useful arts, he would, with these provinces in his hands, carry his people to such

a height of power, that any successor of moderate parts would find none able to oppose him in seizing Holland, and securing the possession of it. Of such vast importance are these Provinces!

Travels through Germany.

Trauels through Germany.

C H A P. III.

From Ruremond to Cologne—Description of that City—To Munster—The Country—Husbandry—Adventures—Bishopric of Osnaburgh—Minden—War in Germany—Hanover—Present State of the Electorate—Agriculture—Manufactures—Revenues—To Hamburg—Description of that City—State of its Trade, &c.

FROM Ruremond to Cologne, the road leads first to Juliers, at the distance of eighteen miles : it is through a very indifferent country, being much of it waste, and a great deal, a poor sand. Some of this poor soil is, however, cultivated, for they were mowing several fields of buck wheat, I passed, which seemed to be pretty good crops. I ordered my servant to make some enquiries into the advantages of applying these sands to the culture of it; and he was told, that they were too poor to produce any thing else, but of this grain, their crops were sometimes considerable. Their method was to take a
crop

crop of buck wheat, and then leave the land fallow for a year, but without giving it any tillage: the year following, they take another crop on one ploughing, and so on, but I could not understand, that they paid any rent for this land; it seemed waste, and nobody prevented the peasants from taking what crops, they pleased from it. They applied the buck wheat to feeding hogs and horses, and gave the straw to their cows. But all these sands, I apprehend, might be much improved, by spreading their yellow clays upon them, of which I saw, in broken places on the road, many spots.

The town of Juliers is not large, but it is neatly built, and contains several good streets, which are broad and strait. The place is well fortified, having a very strong citadel, in which are the ruins of an ancient palace, once the residence of the Dukes of Juliers. They have a rich monastery of Carthusians in the suburbs. At Juliers, and several other places in the Duchy, there is a very advantageous manufacture of woollen goods, and a still more considerable one of those linens, called, in England, Gulic Hollands; these manufactures spread something of an industry through the country, and enrich it, much more than it would otherwise be.

From

From Juliers to Cologne is twelve miles, through a country, rather better than that to Juliers : towards the Rhine, it improves greatly, and is well spread with fine meadows, and other rich tracks. I arrived at Cologne, the 30th, at night, fixing my quarters at the City of Amsterdam inn.

Cologne is a very large and well built city, in the form of a crescent, situated in a fine plain on the banks of the Rhine. There is some appearance of fortifications about it, but it is a place of no strength, from its great extent; the walls, inclosing much ground, that is not built upon, and many gardens and vineyards of more than three hundred acres. There are four and twenty gates, and a vast number of public buildings; they reckon twenty-seven churches, thirty chapels, twelve monasteries, twenty-two nunneries, and four large hospitals. These public edifices are so numerous in proportion to the city, that most of it is taken up with them. Among the best houses in the town are those belonging to the Chapter, most of which have handsome gardens and vineyards. The streets are large and well paved, but there are only two squares or market-places. The cathedral is a large building, but unfinished, though begun

begun so long ago, as 1254; there is nothing striking in it. The Jesuit's church is an handsome building: I went to see two monasteries, and the chapel of a nunnery, which I was told, were best worth viewing; but I found so little entertainment, that I desisted from enquiring after any more.

I proposed crossing Westphalia in my way to Hamburgh, which is a journey of near two hundred miles, but I had such a description of the roads, and the miserableness of the inns and accommodation, that I determined to purchase a chaise at Cologne, and so to depend on the road for nothing, but horses and drivers. It was with much trouble, that I found one, that had the convenience of carrying plenty of baggage; at last I bought one with a large boot before, and a still more ample one, behind: I purchased likewise some sheets, a mattrass, and pillows, with a very large coverlid, that would go all over the bedding, when made.

August the 1st, I sent my chaise across the Rhine, on its way to Dusseldorp, determining myself to go by the river, as much the more agreeable way. I took my passage in a large boat, which plies upon the Rhine; the voyage is extremely agreeable; for wherever the banks are high, which is the case in
many

many places, they are generally planted with vines, which has a mighty pretty effect, and the woods, intermixed with corn fields, have a fine appearance. It was a good day's journey to reach Dusseldorp. That town is a pretty place from the neatness of the buildings, and being well paved. The fortifications are of no great account; but there is a well built citadel, which commands the Rhine. The Jesuit's college is a handsome edifice. In the palace is the gallery, which was once filled with a famous collection of paintings: It was greatly concerned to find that they were removed, as I expected much pleasure from seeing them, to add to my collection.

Having entertained myself with walking about the place, I again took boat the second for Dussburgh, and which I did not reach, till late in the afternoon; the voyage was extremely pleasant, the views picturesque, and the country in general very fine and rich; the cattle they feed in the meadows on the Rhine, are the large Dutch sort, and they seem to have a great plenty of them. Some of these meadows are extremely high priced; but most of them are farmed by the owners, by means of stewards and bailiffs. Dussburgh is but a poor insignificant place, with nothing to recommend it.

nothing worthy of attention. I walked to see an old castle near it, but it is in ruins.

From Dyuysburgh to Munster, the distance is about sixty-eight miles; and I found, by the enquiries I made, that the principal part of it was over barren heaths and wastes; that there were scarcely any towns, unless I turned much out of my way, and but a few villages, with wretched accommodations: however, as I had an inclination to cross Westphalia, I determined to encounter this dreary journey. I set out in my chaise the 3d of August, having loaded it with some loaves, cold fowls, ham, beef, and half a dozen bottles of good wine. This precaution, they assured me at Dyuysburgh, was very necessary, for a slice of bacon, and a piece of black barley bread, was the most, I could expect at any of the hedge ale-houses, I should meet with.

For some miles from Dyuysburgh, the country is tolerably fertile and pleasant; but as you advance northwards, it grows worse, and the soil poorer: about twenty miles distance, I passed through a territory, where the husbandry surprized me, from being so much better, than in the country I had passed; the soil is sandy and not rich, But the inhabitants cultivate it with some degree of attention;

tion; the fields are inclosed regularly with neat and strong hedges of horn-beam, and appear to be pretty well cultivated; I observed several, entirely cropped with potatoes; this root they plant with great success on sandy grounds, and use it for fattening their hogs. I made many enquiries among the peasants, concerning their methods of managing their hogs, from knowing the excellence of their hams and bacon; and I found, that their principal food was, what they got wild in the woods, where many chesnuts grow, and to which, I suppose, the flesh is indebted for its fine flavour.

I stopped at night at a house here, called an inn, but which was in reality a small farm house, standing singly in the fields, with only a few scattered inclosures about it. I arrived at this mansion in the afternoon about five o'clock, and immediately took a survey of the premises: what I had taken for a house, I found to be no more than a large barn, which served for parlour, kitchen, bed-chamber, stable, cow-house, and hog-stye: a man very readily came out, and unharnessing the horses, conducted them to a rack and manger; but as to myself, nobody took the least notice of me: I ordered my servant to find out some detached building,

ing, or room, to make my bed in, and, if it was to be had, another to eat in; he went to the landlord of the inn, who was busy in the field, and presently came back to let me know, that I must do, as other travellers did at his inn, or I might, if I pleased, go seek a better: this answer let me fully into our landlord's character, and convinced me, that I must make a virtue of necessity, and submit to do, as other travellers did. I found, however, that my request had been an unreasonable one, for the barn was the only apartment in the possession of the family.

We then fixed upon a part of it, the least offensive from unsavoury smells, and spreading a napkin upon the ground, began to devour a part of the provisions, I had brought from Dusseldorf; one table, which was the ground, served both master and man, and that served us also for chairs, for no others were to be found at this Westphalian inn: a hearty repast, after almost a day's hunger, had its charms, though taken in so homely a manner: we dispatched a couple of fowls, a piece of beef, and some slices of ham, and were emptying a bottle of Rhenish, when the landlord came up, and with an appearance of some civility, addressing himself to me, said,

said, as I understood by my servant, who was my interpreter :

Much good may do you, Sir; you have taken care to lay in good store for your journey.

Why, yes; it seems to be rather necessary in this country.

Odds my life, Sir, we have some nice dried tongues, and I could give you a flaggon of as good brandy, as any in Munster.

Thinking it would be proper to lay out some money with him for myself, as well as for my horses, I desired, he would let me taste one of his dried tongues, and bring us some brandy; and if he would assist us in dispatching both, I should be obliged to him. The German took the hint; he brought five small tongues, and a piece of hung beef, all excellent, so that I was induced to eat a second course; his brandy he drank himself, as if it had been but small beer, and he was not long in clearing the table of the tongues. I took this opportunity to enquire into their husbandry, and asking him many questions; he answered me but coldly at first, but growing into better humour, as he swigg'd the brandy, he was more communicative, and gave me the following accounts: I am not farmer enough myself to discriminate in his

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particulars, but must take all on the same authority.

The lands, throughout these parts, are in general cultivated by peasants, who are in a state of villainage; but some of them are lett in the manner of our farms in England, and these are much better managed, than the others; but it is only of late years, that this has been done, though from the success, and the land yielding the owner a greater profit, it is supposed, that a greater freedom will be diffused among the peasants. The soil is in general sandy, but it is not a barren sand, for few tracts are so bad, but what will yield some advantages, when managed with any care. The plants, they cultivate principally are rye, oats, buck wheat, a little barley, potatoes, some turnips, and, of late years, a plant, between a turnip and a cabbage; but they have no wheat: they depend much on their cattle for the profit of their husbandry: their meadows, except on the banks of brooks and rivers, are very indifferent; but they feed their flocks on wastes, having herdsmen to take care of them; they generally house them every night: the barn, in which the family and cattle reside, is large enough to hold all the stock. They have very few horses among them, all their work being
being

being performed by oxen or cows, for they find no inconvenience in working the latter. They are troubled very much in winter, to find provisions for their cattle; their straw is all eaten, and they feed them also with the tender branches of several sorts of trees; their turnip leaves and cabbage leaves they pluck several times, and boil them in a large copper, until the liquor is a kind of hodge-podge, and this they give their oxen and cows warm, and find, that this method of giving it makes the materials go much farther; they also think, it highly necessary to give cows some warm food every day in winter; their potatoes they use chiefly for their hogs. I made enquiries concerning the fattening them, and found, that they are made fat chiefly by running in the woods, where they find plenty of chesnuts; but in tracts, where these woods are not within a farmer's right, they procure chesnuts, and give them in sties: in the last stage of their fattening, which is after their range abroad in the woods is over, they give them potatoes baked. I expressed much surprize at this intelligence, but it was repeated several times, and very seriously. They have large ovens for baking potatoes; and they find, that thus prepared, they are the most fattening of all food, and that the

flavour of their bacon is owing, not to the chefnuts, but to the baked potatoes; what truth, or rather what propriety, there is in this practice, I am totally unable to ascertain, it is a point, that must be referred to the connoisseurs in hog-fattening; but I much question, whether the farmers in England will ever give credit enough to this account, to try it in their practice. They think it, equally necessary, to give hogs their food, warm in winter, as cows.

Buck wheat they think the most profitable grain, they can sow on their sandy lands; they use it principally for their own eating, making bread, puddings, and pancakes of it, and with the straw they partly feed their oxen in winter.

I before remarked, that the barn served for every use of cattle, as well as the family: they are universally attentive to house all throughout the winter, and they supply them with litter in as great abundance, as they are able, either with straw, heath, fern, or other stuff; and their dung, as cleaned away, is formed into a great heap, near the barn, which they add to, by all the family doing their necessities upon it, and which they would, on no account, omit, being very sensible

fible, how much they add to the virtues of it.

It was with some difficulty, that I could find a spot in the barn, on which I could submit to spread my bed: my man raised a floor of fern upon the ground, and laid on that, a layer of straw, and then my bedding: I had, on one side of me, seven oxen, ranged to their racks and mangers, the nearest of whom was within three feet of me, and I was not a little disturbed with the idea of his breaking or slipping his halter, and favouring me with his company in the night, to the dislocation of all my bones: my neighbour, on the other side, was a cow, and near her, a large sow with a litter of pigs, whose grunting served instead of soft music to lull me to sleep. This lodging among the cattle, I much preferred to the other end of the barn, where the family, the post-boy, and man, and another traveller reposed themselves; men and women all together: as I was forced to have company, I chose those animals, which, I was sure, were cleanest, and would send forth the fewest unfavoury smells. Here it was I reposed myself for sleep, and much sooner sacrificed to Morpheus, than I expected: in other words, I was presently fast and comfortably asleep.

without dreaming either of cows, oxen, or swine; but, as if I was destined to have the Westphalian barn, prove as fertile of adventures, as any of Don Quixote's inns, I was, in the middle of the night, suddenly awaked with a great weight, dropping at once upon me. I immediately supposed, it was nothing less than my friend the ox, and directly belaboured his bones with a large cane: a voice, not less sonorous, than that of an ox, roar'd out in High Dutch, as if the devil had just caught him; the whole barn was presently in confusion, oxen and cows bellowing, the sows grunting, the horses neighing, the pigs squeaking, the women squalling, and the landlord cursing; nor was our theatre of discord quiet, till the case was explained by the wounded traveller, who viewing the barn, thought my bed, the most promising part, to take his rest upon.

After this adventure, we once more applied to sleep, which met with no more disturbance; and by five o'clock in the morning, my chaise, &c. being ready, I beat a march from this very delectable inn, pursuing my journey towards Munster.

The country was, for many miles, a waste, wild track, generally a heath, or straggling woods: in one part we travelled, I believe,
ten

ten or eleven English miles, without seeing a single house. About noon, I stopped to rest the horses, and refresh ourselves on the banks of a pretty stream, which I thought far preferable to taking refuge in another country inn: the place, where I dined, was not wanting in rural beauties; the river was seen winding through a small plain for about a mile; the soil, tolerable meadow, with some verdure; from the flat ground, some gentle hills rose in a various manner, whose tops were prettily tufted with trees; it was a charming day, which made this little prospect, appear quite enchanting, after the dreary waste we had just passed. Here I got a most refreshing dinner, and resting the horses an hour and half, set forwards again for Munster, and arrived there late at night, on the 4th. It is a miserable place, though the capital of the bishopric. It is large and populous, but a very ugly, ill built, and dirty town.

Here I took fresh horses, and set forward again next morning, after a walk through the city, for Tecklenburgh; the distance twenty three miles. The first part of this journey is pleasant enough, for Munster is situated in a large plain, which is the richest and best cultivated part of the whole

bishopric; but the latter part of the journey is through a country, almost waste, though with some cultivated tracks; and the peasants seem to be in a very miserable state. Tecklenburgh is but a very insignificant place, without one object worth seeing: there is an old castle, which they talk of, as once a famous fortification, but it is a place of no strength. I met with so miserable an inn here, that I had my own bed, made on the floor of my room, and for provisions fared very badly; but I would not touch my travelling store, as we found, it would be wanting the next day, though I had added pretty considerably to it at Munster.

From Tecklenburgh to Osnaburgh is about twelve miles; the country rather improves. The bishopric of Osnaburgh is, in general, a pretty good soil, far better cultivated than most part of that of Munster. Through part of it, before I came to the capital, I remarked, that the enclosures were very well made with horn-beam hedges, set in quincunx order, and neatly kept; the peasants seemed to have considerable herds of cattle, and particular hogs. The situation of Osnaburgh on the river Ose is pleasant, and around it, is a very fertile plain. The streets, in general, are not very handsome

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or regular, but they have some very good buildings. It is famous for its bread and beer, being the best in all Westphalia; and I allow, their beer is tolerable, and their bread middling, but neither of them comparable, to what is met with in every county of England. The palace is a melancholy and disagreeable place, from its being fortified in the castle stile.

From Osnaburgh I took the road to Minden; the distance is near forty miles, and which took me a day and part of the night to travel: the country is much superior to Munster, the soil fertile, and tolerably cultivated; vast fields of corn are spread over it to the South, which, in some places, would make a very fine appearance before harvest, but the stubbles, pointed them out to me. Throughout most of this country, the possessors of the lands are nobles or ecclesiastics, who farm them themselves, under the care of bailiffs; the peasants are generally in a state of villainage; they find teams for ploughing and carting on their Lord's land, and do him much work besides; in return for which, they are allowed cottages, with small parcels of land, of which they cannot make near the value, from the hard services, they are bound to perform. I passed several villages

villages, newly built by order of the King of Prussia, who is Sovereign of Minden; and I was informed, that that very able Monarch had made some regulations, relative to the villainage of the peasants, which would be attended with very good effects. Upon the Ducal lands, which are in his possession, he has lett many farms in the English way, and the superiority of their culture and produce, proves sufficiently clear, that it is a most wise measure.

The town of Minden is situated on the banks of the Weser; it is a large place, but very poorly built; the streets crooked, and the houses but indifferent: the cathedral is a very antient building. Early the next morning, I took a guide to shew me the plain, where the famous battle was fought: I viewed the ground attentively, examining it with a plan of the battle. The account of some woods, which I have read of more than once, does not seem to be at all accurate.

The retreat of the French from Hastenbach, and this battle, were the only brilliant touches, we had for about forty millions of money, most vilely wasted in this country. Of all the paradoxical arguments, which ever disgraced the head, or rather the heart, of a man of abilities, that of urging the propriety, and

and even necessity of renewing the last German war, was the most humiliating to the individual, and the most unfortunate to Britain. The preservation of the electorate of Hanover, after it had been fleeced by Richelieu, was not, nor could be, the real reason, the only apparent one, was keeping a French army from attacking Prussia; but that was not in the whole effected, witness the battle of Rosbach: but, in the name of common sense, would not six or seven millions a year, employed in attacking France upon her own coast, with an army as numerous, as that we kept up in Germany, with the addition of all that was expended in our expedition thither; would not, I say, such a plan of operations have called back all French armies from Germany, much more effectually than our's could drive them? Would not the French be far more alarmed, and have much greater reason to dread an enemy's army in Normandy, than in Minden, Hesse, or Hanover? We should have been able to supply all the wants of an army, on the other side the channel, two hundred per cent. cheaper than one in Germany, with the infinite advantage of so very considerable a part of all the expence, being laid out among ourselves. These advantages would have been enjoyed
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at the same time, that the war was transferred into the enemy's country; a point of no slight importance, and one, which is ever the surest means of disabling any country. Every argument of weight was against the German war; none, but weak or false ones for it. The idea of our conquests, in other parts of the world, being made in consequence of the diversion in Germany, is fully answered, by supposing the same diversion in the provinces of France. There can be no doubt, but conquests in America, and the East, from any power, must be owing to a degree of their weakness in those places; and that weakness may be materially owing to a consuming expensive diversion elsewhere. But why did we make it in Germany under every disadvantage? The diversion consists in the expenditure of six or seven millions annually, in the maintenance of a great army; but it matters not the least, whether it be on the Rhine, the Rhone, or the Seine, if we look no farther, than the mere matter of diversion; but it is of infinite consequence, that the sum be expended, where it will cause the greatest effects, and that most assuredly will be in the enemy's country. If it is said, that the sea is a bad country to retire to in case of ill fortune; it may be replied, that it was

was the sea, that the Duke of Cumberland was driven to at Hastenbeck; and it was the sea, that Duke Ferdinand would have been driven to, had ill success attended him, unless he had fallen back on the King of Prussia, and therein counteracted, the only pretended purpose of the war. But the argument is false, nothing could be better to retire to, than ports on the Channel, which would, in case of such a war, be most certainly ready to receive any part of the army, in case of need. Cherburgh, Dieppe, Havre, St. Maloes, &c. &c. not one of which could hold out half an hour against seventy thousand men; but which would make most secure quarters for seventy thousand to retreat to, while a victorious fleet, rode upon the coast. Had the last war been carried on upon such principles, we should have found the French, in no condition to send armies to Germany: a battle of Minden in Normandy, if I may be allowed the Ironicism, would have proved a little more fatal to the French, than in Westphalia.

If it is said, that the event of the last war was as glorious, as could be wished, and that it is invidious to complain of, or regret the conduct of any part of it: I reply, that the German part of it was highly inglorious, and
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very far from reflecting any honour on the author of it, or on this nation. Above forty millions of money were spent to save Hanover from the French armies, and even that purpose not effected: but if it had been effected, the whole electorate, in fee simple for ever, is not worth more than half the sum; so that never was such a vast sum expended to so poor a purpose. And at the same time, the sum might have been expended, to have answered numerous good and great purposes, highly for the honour and advantage of England. Nor was this a sum in the annual income of a nation, that could well spare it; on the contrary, it ran up the expences of the war to such a height, and increased the national debt to such an enormous degree, that it is very much to be questioned, whether any war of diversion, with all the success, that could be desired, could possibly equal the ruin, it occasioned: debts may certainly increase in a free government, until they ruin the nation, as much as any unsuccessful war, but certainly more, than any event that could have happened in consequence of saving the money. This digression, I allow, has little to do with the subject of my travels, but the view of the field of battle at Minden brought up these reflections;

flexions; and I think, that on subjects of such importance, every good citizen should ever take such opportunities of arraigning a public conduct, so reprehensible.

From Minden to Hanover is about forty miles, and which journey I could not perform under two days, and slept a night in my chaise, which I thought better, than another barn adventure: the country is, in general, poor and sandy, or moors and forests, not well inhabited, and as badly cultivated; those parts I mean, that pretend to culture: the hedges are not kept in such nice order, as in some districts I have passed; and this article of hedges has a remarkable effect, as it is a criterion of their husbandry in this country; for I found, where they kept them in good order, they seemed to be better husbandmen, than in those tracks, where they neglected them. I passed several turf moors, from out of which, the inhabitants of all the adjacent parts have their firing, which, I suppose, is a good thing for the poor, for this climate in winter is much more severe, than any thing we feel in England.

There is one circumstance, which I must here remark, and that is, that from the banks of the Rhine to Hanover, which is near two hundred miles, I have not seen one chateau
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in all the country; no castle, the residence of some old Baron; no country seat of a private gentleman: in a word, nothing but miserable villages, or scattered cottages, the residence of poverty. What a contrast is this, to travelling in England, or even in Holland. In our counties, even in the most distant parts of the kingdom, we see seats of all ranks and degrees, thickly strewn over the parishes, with a strong appearance of comfortableness, and ease among the gentlemen, even of very moderate fortunes; our clergy too are spread over the whole kingdom, instead of being cooped up in cathedrals, monasteries, and towns: this diffusion of the middling and higher ranks, as well as of the lowest, is infinitely advantageous to the kingdom.

Hanover is the capital, not only, of the Duchy of that name, but also of all the King's German dominions; it is situated in a plain, more fruitful, than most that I have passed lately, and is a tolerably pleasant country. There is a wall, a ditch, and a few other fortifications round it, but they are objects, rather of policy than strength. Part of the town, which they call the old city, is situated on one side of the little river Leina, and is very poorly built; the streets are crooked,

crooked, and not well paved; nor have they any buildings, which make amends for these defects: but the new city, on the other side of the river, is much handsomer, being tolerably well built, and possesses several structures, that ornament it greatly. The churches are not remarkable for their structure, but the insides are well decorated with marble, and contain some paintings by the Flemish masters, which are in their stile fine, though not equal to what I have mentioned at Antwerp. The opera house is a handsome edifice, and holds a great number of spectators; but it is scarcely ever full, nor have operas been performed in it for some time. The elector's palace is an old castle, but not in the town; it is near it; it is an irregular building, without any beauties of architecture; it is, however, a building of considerable size, has several courts, and contains a vast deal of room. In one of the apartments are a great number of portraits of the Ducal family, some of which are admirably executed, four of them have been Emperors. The library is a large apartment, well filled with many scarce books, and the collection of manuscripts is a valuable one. But what is much finer than the palace, are the stables, which in-

finitely exceed those, which his Majesty has at any of his palaces in England; and though he is never there, yet they are kept well filled: the same observation is to be made, respecting the apartments in the palace, for there is a compleat court kept up, with all the great offices of state and person, with attendants, guards, &c. which makes Hanover much more lively and agreeable, than it would otherwise be, and occasions more diversions, than would be found under different circumstances: there is a theatre for French comedians, on which a company from Paris, containing several good performers, regularly exhibit: balls and concerts are not uncommon, and assemblies very numerous, in which is much deep play.

I had an invitation to the public table, kept at the King's expence, from the Great Chamberlain; this is the custom of the principal courts in Germany, and is indeed imitated at many of the inferior ones: the conversation is general and polite, and the state of a court, in most particulars, kept up with regularity and decency, and in some instances, with magnificence.

Herenhausen lies near this city; it is famous only for a small hunting palace, with very magnificent gardens, in which the waterworks

terworks are particularly admired : but these gardens, like all others I have seen on the continent, are in the old taste, of strait lines and compass work ; water hedges, lawns, walks, every thing regularly fatiguing ; the jet-d'eau is, in its kind, fine ; but the man, who has been in England, and can admire a jet-d'eau, must have a miserable taste indeed : nothing in these gardens, which are situated on a sandy flat, will be admired, or even endured by those, who have viewed the master-pieces in this art, which are now to be seen in England.

The 13th of August I left Hanover, taking the road to Zell, at the distance of about thirty miles, which was a day's journey. After travelling a few miles from Hanover, I passed through scarcely any thing but a sandy waste ; here and there are spots of cultivation, sufficient to shew, that the soil is highly capable of yielding very beneficial products, had it inhabitants for performing the necessary work ; but the appearance of most of it is perfectly melancholy, and the inhabitants have a savage look and manner, which I did not find, even in the deserts of Westphalia. The inn at Zell was so indifferent, that I was forced to make use of my portable bed, which made it more

bearable, than I should otherwise have found it. The sign is the Electoral Arms.

The 14th, I entered on the road, if it may be so called, to Harburgh; the distance is near sixty miles, and the whole way, nothing to be found but slight villages, in the midst of one continued forest, desert, or marsh: this was the description my landlord at Zell gave me; and I took the precaution of laying in a good store of cold provisions and wine, as I found, that bacon and black bread were all, I had to expect on the road. I went the first day to Wersendorf, a paltry village, at near the distance of forty miles, through a country, as wild, as if it belonged to nobody, but much of it seemed highly capable of cultivation; the soil rich and deep, and yet left desolate. At that village, I slept in my chaise. The next day's rout to Harburgh, which was between thirty and forty miles further, the country rather improved. I went through much forest, but also passed some cultivated country, in which, the inhabitants appeared much easier and happier in their circumstances: I remarked in several fields, that they cultivated a plant, much resembling a cabbage in the leaves, but with a root, like a turnip; they plant them

them for their cattle, as it is hardy, and will stand their winter, which is very severe: thinking it might be of benefit to England, where I have heard complaints of turnips rotting, I bought a pound of the seed. They have it in plenty.

Harburgh is a sea port on the Elbe, directly opposite to Hamburg, and with which, a little good management might make it a rival; but the trade, carried on here at present, is but inconsiderable: their harbour is as good for ships, and the Elbe opens all the interior part of Germany to them, as well as to that city: but liberty, and stocks already in trade, overbalance all other advantages. Harburgh is in the Electorate, where the government is absolute, and her merchants have not an hundredth part of the stock in trade of those at Hamburg.

The 16th, I passed the river to that city; but before I enter on a description of it, I must make a few remarks, on the present state of the Electorate of Hanover.

During my journey through it, I had been particular in my enquiries, concerning the damage, which the French had committed in the last war, after they had conquered it. I received different accounts; some as-

furing me, that they had almost ruined it ; and others, on the contrary, insisting, that the mischiefs of all kinds, which they occasioned, had been repaired in one year after the peace : the latter intelligence I found to be nearest the truth ; and several persons assured me, that the Electorate, upon the whole, gained more by supplying Duke Ferdinand's army, after the convention of Closterseveu was broken, than they had lost by the French before. I observed very few buildings in ruin, but many, that had been rebuilt and repaired, since the peace ; nor were there, in the parts of the country, through which I travelled, any signs of an enemy having been in it ; and yet I passed, where the hottest work had been.

Regarding the present state of the Electorate, it is to be considered under the heads of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue ; all which important divisions are to be dispatched in a page or two. The inhabitants possess many tracts of fertile land, and such, as would enrich any people, that applied with understanding and industry to its culture ; but they are greatly deficient in both. The laws and customs of the country are much against it : in most parts, the lands are cultivated by the peasants, not for themselves, but
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for the nobility, being in a state of villainage. But if they would try the experiment of letting lands, on long leases, to farmers, as in England, and expect no work or return, but rent alone, paid in money, leaving it to the farmer to cultivate his farm in the manner he liked best, they would soon see the advantages; industry would then shew itself. As to understanding and knowledge in the business, it would be easy for the King to establish one farm, cultivated in the English way, in each district in his dominions, as a pattern for others to imitate.

There are not many manufactures in the Electorate, that are of any consequence; they have a few fabrics of linen, and some of coarse woollen cloths; the situation of the country is not unfavourable, and it has several good ports for exportation and importation, which would allow it an active commerce, if proper encouragement was given; and would consequently carry off many manufactures, or at least animate them to supply themselves: there is a sort of a council of trade, but its operations are very languid. The revenues of the electorate, before the last war, were reckoned at seven hundred thousand pounds a year: but while the war lasted, they de-

clined much, and, for some time, they were in the hands of the French; since that period, they have been rising very quick, and are now said to be equal to what they were before the war; this is a very considerable income, but out of it twenty thousand troops are paid.

The general aggregate of the interests of the Electorate might be greatly advanced, if agriculture met with encouragement enough, to produce an improvement of the waste lands, if fabrics were established in the towns, and if commerce was fixed in the ports; I do not mean a flourishing extended commerce, but an establishment of an infantine one, such as would increase of itself, and draw from foreigners that profit, which they, at present, make by exporting and importing for the Hanoverians. This policy, in these circumstances, would naturally raise the revenues; but before a great income can be drawn from a people, the people must be enriched, and nothing can enrich any nation but agriculture, manufactures, or commerce: mines might be added, but their wealth is more for enriching certain individuals, than spreading a general wealth through the state.

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While there are such numerous tracts of waste land, the first object ought to be their first improvement. This, I believe, will, in all countries, hold good, even to a maxim: if fifty thousand pounds are ready to be expended in the national encouragement of something, it will yield more general profit to a people, to employ it on those wastes, rather than on any other object; for the soil should always be fully cultivated, before the attention of the Prince is drawn to the encouragement of other objects. There are two circumstances, which are favourable to the improvement of the wastes in the Electorate; first, the soil is capable of it; I passed several tracks, even in Holland, and many, in Westphalia, that are much more sterile in appearance; and the information, I received, concerning them, convinced me, that most of the wastes in this country might be improved, comparatively, at a cheap rate. Secondly, the Germans are a heavy, phlegmatic people, who are conducted, with no great difficulty, in improvements and undertakings, which do not extend beyond the sphere of their usual practice, but are very obstinate in their opposition to those, which are quite new: novel establishments in arts, manufactures, or commerce, scarcely ever succeed well, unless

unless the attention of the Sovereign is acute and unremitted; but the improvement of wastes is but a line beyond the practice; they regularly pursue in common agriculture, and would, at once, be understood in the design of the undertaking. Most of the inhabitants of the empire, and all, in those countries, that have not flourishing manufactures, subsist entirely by agriculture; and the nobility are, in general, the cultivators of their own estates; wherever this is the case, it cannot be difficult to persuade them of the importance of bringing all the wastes into culture.

Hamburgh is incomparably the finest city, I have seen, since I entered Germany; and it is well known to be the most flourishing and populous in the whole empire. The situation, on the great river Elbe, is what has raised it to so much wealth by commerce; that river gives it a very good harbour, and spreads its merchandize throughout a most extensive part of the empire; it stands near seventy miles from the ocean. The walls form nearly a circle of five miles and an half circumference, including several islands in the river, on which, a part of it, is built: the number of inhabitants fluctuate, between one hundred and ten and one hundred and twenty

twenty thousand. A channel of the river runs through the center of it, and consequently brings ships most advantageously to the very merchants doors : there are also some canals, which, with the channels, formed by the river, spread the trade through most parts of the city. The city is fortified by a high wall and vast ditch, with some out-works of no great consequence ; they have thrown up lines to encompass them, and united them with the Elbe ; and built a stronger fort near the river, which they call the Star Fort. The ramparts are pleasant to walk on, being covered with grass, and doubly planted : the garrison never exceeds two thousand five hundred men, which are too few by ten thousand to defend the town ; but Hamburgh does not depend so much on the strength of her walls and her garrison, as being a free city of the empire, and being claimed by several neighbouring Princes, who are wonderfully jealous of each others designs on it.

The town has six gates towards the land, and three to the river. It contains eighty-four bridges, thrown over the canals, and the branches of the river : they have also in the city forty water-mills, six windmills, six sluices, and six large market places.

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The streets are by no means pleasing; they are narrow, crooked, and badly paved; and the houses, being very high, are, many of them at noon day, half dark; and what makes them still more detestable, is the planting them with a row of trees on each side. The buildings are all of brick, and which are not the best coloured. Upon the whole, the city, though much larger, does not exceed Bristol in elegance; the principal houses are those of the great merchants, which, though they are thus deficient in agreeableness, are well contrived for the convenience of trade, as they are generally situated on the water-side, and a part of them are warehouses with open doors and cranes; so that their ships are unloaded at their doors, which, in their business, is a circumstance of very great importance. The houses of some of their warehouses are from five to seven stories high; this is owing, very much, to a general want of cellaring in the city; for all vaults and cellars are rendered almost useless by the annual floods, that rise the Elbe so much, as to fill most of them with water: even their wines are kept two or three stories high, which is a very great inconvenience. A very inelegant custom among the merchants, is to make their halls
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into warehouses ; you enter the best houses in town, and find yourself at once among hogheads and bales of goods ; and what is full as bad, they use it also for a coach house and harness room ; and in some houses, the stables are under the same roof with the apartments.

The churches are the principal public buildings, but they have not much to recommend them. St. Catharine's is a large edifice, with a very lofty steeple, and contains a prodigious organ with six thousand pipes ; but this, I suppose, was a lye of my conductors, usually told to strangers. St. Michael is a modern building, light and pleasing.

Hamburgh contains many well endowed hospitals, under admirable management. Their Foundling hospital has a revenue of more than six thousand pounds a year, and it is under such a wise regulation, that great numbers of lives are saved by it ; they have another for poor travellers, and a third for disabled seamen. Their work-house is also a large building, wherein they confine, to hard labour, all strolers and vagabonds ; the effect of which is so great, that I have not seen a beggar in the city. Their town house is a very old and irregular building, though it is the place, where the
Senate

Senate (which is the government of the city) meets; where the Courts of Judicature are held, and the seat of the two banks, &c. with the custom-house, excise, admiralty, &c. The exchange is near it, and a poorer, more paltry, and tumble-down building, I do not remember to have seen. Another strange place, to which they give the name of a public building, is the Boom-house, which was formerly a guard-house to the booms, which secure the river: it is at present a tavern, and has, at the top of the house, a very large room for public entertainments, being quite surrounded with windows, which command all Hamburgh, a large track of country on both sides of the Elbe, the course of that river for a great way, with a vast number of ships in it. This tavern is famous for the retale of wines, and all sorts of beer, that are to be found in Germany.

But Hamburgh, though a city of no elegance, makes ample amends by the possession of the greatest trade of any place in Germany. For this commerce, it is indebted to the Elbe, which opens a communication with Upper and Lower Saxony, Austria, Bohemia; and by means of the Havel and Spree, with the Electorate of Brandenburg; and by the canal from the
Spree

Spree to the Oder, with Silesia, Moravia, and Poland itself. By means of this very extensive inland navigation, Hamburg possesses the great advantages of being the center of export to all these countries, and also furnishes them with the principal part of their foreign importations, linens, lawns, &c. of several sorts she receives from Silesia; several linens of the stronger kind from Westphalia, and Lower Saxony; great quantities of linen yarn from Silesia and Lusatia; plates of tin, and wire of iron, brass, and steel, from Upper Saxony; pipe and hoghead staves, wainscot plank, clapboards, oak plank, oak timber, with various skins from Bradenburgh and Saxony. In return for these various articles, which Germany exports by way of Hamburg, she receives, by the same channel, among other articles, various woollen manufactures from England, particularly Yorkshire cloths, to the amount, as they assert, of one hundred thousand pounds; also East-India goods, sugar in great quantities from England, and yet more from France, wines, brandies, &c. and various manufactures from England, France, and Holland. Two hundred English ships annually enter the Elbe; the chief of which come back freighted from

from Spain, Portugal, and Italy. They have twenty-two ships; the largest, belonging to them, are regularly employed in the trade of London, making each one voyage every year, there and back; these ships are the principal ones for this trade; for it is found much more advantageous to employ them than English ships. The Dutch also carry on a very considerable trade with this city, in which they have great advantages by means of their East-India goods, their monopoly of spices, and their barrelled herrings. The French likewise come in for a share; their trade hither has much increased of late years, so that they rival England in several branches.

They have several considerable manufactures within the city, of which the most important is sugar-baking or refining; this business is so flourishing, as to employ no less than three hundred sugar-bakers; for they supply all Germany, and the principal markets of the North. This trade depends very much on the commerce with Great Britain, as from thence, they have most of their Muscovado sugars. France supplies them with some, and before the last war, with more than at present; for the conquest of the French islands, throwing the trade
totally

totally into the hands of the London merchants, they made so good a use of their enlarged correspondence, as to preserve a greater share at the peace, than they enjoyed before the war. This is one instance, and a very striking one, that a correspondence once fixed, and supported by stocks in trade, is very difficult to be overthrown by any nation.

The weaving velvets, brocades, damasks, and other rich silks, forms another branch of manufacture, which has much increased of late years. The sober Hamburgers complain of the increase of luxury in their own city, and, indeed, it would be surprizing, if they escaped entire from the contagion, while they employed so many hands in feeding the luxury of the German cities, and the North. These rich silks find a vent in the Baltic, and in the interior countries of Germany.

The stocking manufactory is another fabric, which is highly beneficial to the city, by employing great numbers of their poor in knitting, who could not otherwise find a subsistence. Another very considerable trade is that of callico-printing, which is carried on here to a very great amount; they rival the Dutch in this article, and also the Eng-

lish in common goods; but, for the elegant patterns on very fine linens, no nation equals the printers about London, whose works are sought after with such avidity, through most parts of Europe, that the Dutch send over vast quantities of linens to be printed in England: the Hamburgers send great quantities of their printed goods into Germany, and also to the North. Dying is another branch of their manufactures, which employs a great number of hands; they are reckoned the best dyers in Germany. Whalebone is another manufacture, in which they excel; nor is this an inconsiderable fabrick: they have entered largely, of late years, into the Greenland fishery, and with pretty good success; they reckon themselves, the most dangerous rivals in this fishery, that the Dutch have; and certainly they have employed such stocks in the undertaking, and conducted it with such spirit, that they have constantly sent a large number of ships, well built, fitted out, and manned, to the fishery; this has increased their trade in other articles, from an ability of supplying oil and manufactured whalebone at the first hand: so true is it ever found, that the possession of a considerable commerce, is the best foundation in the world, whereon

whereon to erect a still greater; and the acquisition of one branch is generally followed by that of another; for a fixed correspondence, and large established stocks, have such weight in trade, that scarce any thing is able to oppose them.

For the convenience of trade, they have long had a well established bank of deposit, which is generally reckoned to be one of the best and most secure in Europe; it is under the direction of some of the most considerable merchants in the city, who are appointed annually by the whole republic, and the government is answerable for any failure or deficiency.

The foreign commerce and shipping of Hamburgh is risen to a very extraordinary height, considering, that the whole republic consists only of the single city, with scarcely any territory; they assured me, that they once possessed six thousand three hundred ships, great and small; but, at present, the number was not more than four thousand four hundred, though their burthen is greater than formerly; they annually send from fifty to eighty ships to Greenland alone. The largest vessels, that use the port, cannot come up to the city, but are forced to cast anchor at New Mills, which is four miles

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below the town. The tide flows sixteen miles higher up the river than Hamburg, which is in all about ninety miles from the sea, and is thought to be as long a course, as in any river in Europe.

Hamburg is so occupied by trade and manufacture, that scarce any diversions are to be met with in it, except billiards, coffee-houses, and concerts. They are fond of music, and are expensive in their public establishments in its favour. The principal merchants have private concerts at their houses, at which, one sometimes meets pretty good company, that is, with people, who have some ideas beyond their counting-houses. I have been introduced to some of the most considerable families in the city, and can assert, that there are, among them, some, who have improved themselves by the liberal converse of the world, in most parts of Europe; and throughout the city are many persons, that have travelled. In general, there is an elegance runs through every thing here; but we must make an exception in favour of some of the most wealthy inhabitants, in whose houses, I have seen as much appearance of taste and luxury, as in any houses of persons of equal fortune in London. But amongst the inferior people, not the lower classes,

classes, but merchants and manufacturers; whose circumstances are not great, the very contrary is the case; they are in nothing equal to the similar ranks in the trading towns in England.

There is one species of luxury, in which, however, none of the Hamburgiers vie with our English merchants, I mean in the expensiveness and elegance of their houses, and in their costly and ornamental furniture; some of the merchants houses in London are furnished, like the palaces of Princes; but the houses of the richest people in this city have nothing in them, that even reaches mediocrity. When luxury is entered, it highly behoves the government of a country, or state, or city, to direct that luxury into such channels, as may prove of most service to the lower classes of the people. In this respect, the taste of the English traders, is of an infinite advantage to their country, by finding constant employment to great numbers of useful artizans and manufacturers; and it cannot be doubted, but this is far more beneficial, than expending the same money in excessive eating and drinking.

The highest appearance of luxury at Ham-
burgh, or at least of unnecessary expence,
is in the entertainments, which are given at
I 3 taverns.

taverns, upon occasion of weddings, christenings, name-days, &c. in these, many of the wealthy people expend as much, as would build houses, and furnish them, when they had done.

The Hamburgers much affect the manners of the French, particularly the women, in their dress and conversation; but the imitation is not that, which will please any other nation; the men are full of French in language, dress, ceremony, and compliment. Coaches at Hamburg are not considered there, as an article of luxury; they are kept by vast numbers of tradesmen, from whom, one could not expect such an exertion of expence.

I before remarked, that the Hamburgers are very fond of music, and particularly of giving concerts; their taste once carried them to the maintenance of an Italian opera, which, in such a city, was, I think, running into luxury too far, and so they found; for they could not support it properly, and so it dropped. They have a theatre, on which German and French comedies are exhibited in the winter; and of this amusement they are very fond. Another diversion, of which they partake a good deal, is that of walking dressed on a mall, which, they call the Maiden's

den's Walk: it is a beautiful one, on the banks of a basin, formed by the river Alster; it is a thousand feet long, but not more than thirty broad; it is planted on each side, and nothing parts it from the water, but a rail; and as there are stairs for taking boats and barges, the whole is uncommonly chearful and agreeable.

Notwithstanding the numerous markets at Hamburg, the city is not a place for eating and drinking luxuriously: their butchers meat is not excellent, and their fish is little of it of fine sorts; nor have they any oysters; the garden stuffs and poultry, I think, is the best fare: claret, that is good, is rarely found; but the old hock and rhenish they have, is in good perfection. My quarters were at the Keyzerhoff, where I met with extreme good entertainment, a good bed, rooms cleaner, than in any inn, I have been at in Germany, and attentive waiting, but the expence runs high; I did not escape under a guinea and half a day.

Upon the whole, this city is not a place, to which a stranger should resort for pleasure: the people are enveloped in trade; from which they do not break forth, but to some great exertion of entertainment, some christening, burial (for they entertain at the

death, as well as the birth of their relations) or wedding; and then, these times of luxury and expence are not under the influence of taste or elegance: the manners of the people do not please, for they are an awkward mixture of German plainness with French eclat; of German honesty with French insincerity; and make, in the whole, but a motley figure. Their amusements do not deserve the name, music excepted, and that is often bad; and the places of reception for strangers, vile, except one house, and that is extravagantly dear; from whence it may easily be judged, that Hamburgh is no place for a traveller to stay long at.

Travels through Denmark.

Wells through Denmark

C H A P. IV.

Altena — Lubeck — Curious clock — Journey across Holstein and Sleswick — Description of the Country — Denmark — Accidental meeting with a Danish Nobleman — His great Improvements described — Manufactures — Commerce — Agriculture — His enlarged views — Journey through the Northern Parts of Denmark.

I Left Hamburgh, the 21st of August. Falling down the Elbe to Altena is pleasant enough; that town is the well known rival to Hamburgh, built professedly to steal its trade; and it must be confessed, that the situation is very well adapted for the pilfering design; nor has it failed, for she has proved a thief in earnest. The merchants, at this place, have been encouraged so much by its being declared a free port, and by the open liberty of conscience allowed her, that they have made the town flourish: there is more trade, carried on here, than the Ham-

Hamburghers will own; nor is this at all surprizing, for the city of Hamburgh has done so much mischief to her own trade; by customs and excises; whilst Altena, being free, hath taken immediate advantage of any such errors. One great instance of this is in Silesia linens; a small duty was laid upon them at Hamburgh, which threw at once the commission business in them to the Altenese. The Senate, feeling their error, reversed the duty, and gained some of their trade back again; but not all; much of it remained with their rivals, and has continued slowly increasing ever since. This shews, among a thousand other instances, how dangerous a thing trade is to meddle with; it cannot be burthened, or clogged ever so little, without danger of its taking flight. With Hamburgh, the case is particularly delicate, for Altena is on the same river, commands the same inland navigation, and has the great advantage of being a free port; so that it is impossible, an error should be committed on one side of the water, without advantage being taken of it on the other.

The buildings at Altena are better in appearance, than those of Hamburgh; the streets are strait and regularly built, wide, and

and well paved. There is a new Town-House erected, and several other public buildings shew, that the place is on a flourishing and improving hand. The merchants houses, like those of Hamburgh, are on the water-side, so that ships unload and load at their doors. The King of Denmark made it the staple of the Danish East India company, which has been of very great importance to the town: this measure was an admirable one; for Altena, by means of her situation, distributes the India goods, where no other town in Denmark could; she sends large quantities into most parts of Germany, and herein rivals the Hamburghers, who are forced to buy theirs of the Dutch. In all these points, the interest of Denmark has been very well considered for this last century, from a noble attention in their Kings to promote, whatever has been most for the interest of their subjects.

But while I mention the advantages, that kingdom receives from the establishment of Altena, and the considerable trade, carried on in it, I must, at the same time, observe, that the great freedom of reception, which reigns here, brings all sorts of wretches here; even malefactors, from Hamburgh, here find an asylum; nor does a merchant

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or tradesmen of any kind fail, and defraud their creditors, but he appears here again on the stage, and carries on a fresh trade, as if nothing had happened: no stews, or street-walkers are allowed at Hamburg, but both abound at Altena in the greatest plenty; and the place swarms with Jews, who are not of that advantage to its commerce, which some have thought.

The way from Altena to Lubec, which was the route, I proposed taking, is back near Hamburg, and then turning off to the left, the distance near forty miles; and there being no place on the road, at which, the accommodation for lying would be tolerable, I determined to stay the night at Altena, and go off early next morning, so as to reach Lubec by night: my landlord, who, by the way, is an imposing rascal, introduced to me a gentleman, a professor, he called himself, in one of the universities of Saxony, who had travelled much in Holstein and Denmark; that he might give me some intelligence of the proper measures, to be taken in the journey. I invited the man of learning to dine with me: he proved a very sensible intelligent man: fortunately for me, he spoke French fluently, and I had much
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conversation with him, which proved of great use to me afterwards.

He assured me, that I should not find travelling in Holstein and Denmark, near so disagreeable, as in Westphalia and the Electorate of Hanover; that the people were cleaner, and infinitely more civil; but that I should, by all means, buy horses, instead of depending on those at the post town; horses, he said, were cheap at Altena, and I should travel quicker with my own, than with hired. I followed his advice, and bought three, a pair for my chaise, and one for my man; I also hired a German postilion to drive me through Denmark, and also Sweden, in case, I should go over thither. This man I considered as a treasure, for I could understand him very well in French, and he could speak German, Danish, and Swedish; this was just such an interpreter, as I wanted. I made some enquiries of the worthy professor, concerning the state of Holstein and Denmark, and the tracts of country in them, the most worth seeing: he told me, I should find much entertainment in the great improvements made wherever I turned myself; that government had established manufactures in various places, which were of the greatest service to the country; and that uncommon encouragement

agement had been given to agriculture, which had been attended with valuable effects. When I asked him concerning the roads, he shook his head; upon that point he could give me no satisfaction: I found, I was to expect no good ones. He asked me, in his turn, if I proposed travelling through Saxony? I replied, I believed, I should return to England, through that part of Germany, after having compleated the tour of the northern kingdoms. He then assured me, I should find nothing in Germany, comparable to Saxony; I find, continued he, you do not confine your observations to the productions of fine arts, but take notice of the state of agriculture, manufactures, and trade; that is a very useful way of travelling, and believe me, you will find full entertainment in the Electorate and Duchies of Saxony. I expressed some surprize at this, saying, that I should have thought the mischiefs, occasioned by the late war, must have been too severe, yet to be recovered: he said, they were by no means recovered, but that I should be pleased to see the quickness and alacrity, which the people applied themselves to remedy those severities, they had suffered; in which they are much more assisted by the government, than they have been

been for an age before. The Professor favoured me with his company for the best part of the evening, during which time, we had a very great variety of conversation about the state of Germany, the progress of literature, the events of the last war, and the prospect of a new one.

The next morning I took chaise for Lubeck. The country is, in general, sandy, stoney, or woodland; but I passed several tracks, in which are meadows and pastures of a tolerable appearance. I could not perceive any of those improvements, which my friend, the Professor, assured me, I should see very thickly strewn over the country. I observed scarce any inclosures, which is alone a mark of a general bad management. I baited at Schoenbar, and again at Stenhorft, a village, about twelve miles on this side Lubeck. I had no great reason, from these stops, to praise the cleanliness or the civility of the people; and the country, for most of the way, till you get within a few miles of Lubeck, is poor and disagreeable, but there it begins to mend much.

Lubeck is pretty well situated on a river, that falls into the Baltick, about eight miles from it, at a village, where the port for ships is, for only small craft can come up to the

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city. It is oddly built on two sides of a hill, but is romantic to look at, for that reason; at the bottom of each declivity is a river. The streets are better laid out, than those of Hamburgh, broad and regular, and the houses, in general, pretty well built. The city is kept very clean, by means of its uneven situation, for every shower of rain washes down all dirt, and leaves it in better order, than any scavengers could. Here are some public buildings, which they make a parade of shewing to strangers; but there is very little remarkable in them; it hath five churches, a town-house, an arsenal, and an hospital.

St. Mary's church is the most considerable in the place; it is a lofty edifice, standing in the midst of the city: it has a double steeple, two hundred and seventeen yards high, built in 1304; the inside of it is profusely ornamented with pillars, monuments, &c. but there are few of them, which deserve much notice. The great altar is very richly executed in marble, by Quillin, who did so many at Antwerp; near it, is a famous clock, which is the most remarkable object at Lubeck; it exhibits the ecliptic, zodiac, equator, and tropics, and the planets in their several courses; which are so minutely done, that

that the station of any of them, is to be found at every hour of the day : it shews the regular variations of the celestial bodies, sun rising and setting, the eclipses, festivals, and other remarkable days ; all which, it will continue to shew, till the year 1875. Besides all this, there are several automata ; among others, a figure of Jesus Christ, with a door on its right hand, which opening at twelve at noon, out come in order of procession, the Emperor and the seven eldest Electors, and turning to the image, make a profound obeisance ; this the figure returns, by a wave of his hand ; after which, the whole group retires in the same order, through a door on the left, and both doors shut directly. In the tower, is another piece of machinery, and a much more agreeable one, the chimes ; they play the hours with a most pleasing melody, and minute exactness. Under them is the bell, on which is struck the hour ; this is performed by a figure of Time, whilst a lesser figure, representing Mortality, and standing at the other side of the bell, turns aside its head at every stroke. This work, for its preservation, is surrounded with a frame of wire : by the inscription, it appears to have been erected in 1405.

The Dance of Death, a famous painting here, as old as 1463, makes a great noise in these parts of Germany; it is curious, but will not call for much attention.

The cathedral at Lubeck is a building of very great antiquity, being erected in the year 1170, by Duke Henry the Lion, ancestor of the present Elector of Hanover. The occasion of building it, is mentioned in an inscription on one of the walls, viz. That Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, hunting in this part of the country, caught a stag, with a gold collar and cross about its neck, on which was this inscription, *Hoc me Cæsar donavit*, containing the date of the year, which was in the reign of Charlemain: and the Duke, from surprize at this accident, erected this cathedral for commemoration of it on the same spot, and endowed it with an handsome revenue. In the top of the church is to be seen the figure of the stag.

History tells us, that Lubeck was once the head of the famous Hanseatick League. A confederacy, which made for so long a time such a noise in Europe, had a very trifling origin: it was nothing more, than Lubeck and Hamburgh, making an agreement in 1241 to defend their property, jointly against

against the banditti, that much infested the roads. The good effects of the union were such, that Wismar, Rostock, and Grypswald joined it, for the security of their commerce by sea, as well as for clearing the roads of robbers. The confederacy went on, increasing to the number of eighty-five in all; these were divided into four classes, at the head of each of which, were Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzick: but finding themselves much more respected from their union, and better able to keep the sea free from pirates, and the roads from robbers, they, by degrees, enlarged their views, and took part in the quarrels of their neighbours, so as soon to arrive at a very considerable influence upon their affairs. They also extended their union, to cementing the trade of all the cities into one aggregate; and for this purpose, they erected four principal magazines or staples for the better vending their commodities, which proved the original of factories, so well known since in Europe. These were at Novogrod in Russia, afterwards removed to Revel, and from thence to Narva in Livonia; another at Berghen in Norway; a third at Bruges in Flanders, but removed, with the commerce of that city, to Antwerp, to the famous house of

K 3 Easterlings;

Easterlings ; and the fourth at London, in the Steel-yard. In the times of their most flourishing state, the Hanse towns were formidable to all Europe ; they fitted out more than once, above two hundred ships of war, and, in their military expeditions, committed the supreme direction to Lubeck ; this was the occasion of that city's having so much power and prosperity. She governed the Baltic, as if it had been her patrimony ; she made war upon the Dukes of Mecklenburgh, and other German Princes, and even against the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, making descents on their coasts ; putting every thing they met to fire and sword ; burning and plundering great tracks of country. But it was this haughtiness, that proved the ruin of the league ; for the neighbouring Princes falling separately on the towns that were in their dominions, forced them to dissolve it ; and with their confederacy, their trade fell by degrees, till it came at last to nothing. The only cities, at present, in the league, and which have from it the least appearance of any union, are Lubeck, Ham-
burgh, Bremen, Rostock, Dantzick, and Cologne.

Lubeck has yet a trade, that is not despicable : her situation and excellent port are extremely

tremely advantageous for the commerce of the Baltick. She imports the products of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Ruffia, and Poland; and, by her inland navigation, distributes them through many parts of Germany. They import from the south of Europe, and from the countries on the Rhine, much wine, which they send into all the countries on the Baltick; and the places, with which she has most trade, are, Riga, Revel, Narva, and Petersburgh.

In many particulars, there is a resemblance between the way of living, diversions, and manners of the people of Lubeck, with those of Hamburgh: there is not much to admire in either, but the former, I think, are more cleanly, and their houses better, and much more agreeably furnished. Another circumstance, I think right to mention, is the goodness of the inns; I found a good house, extreme good provisions, cleanliness, and much civility, at the King of England's Head, and, at the same time, full as cheap again, as at the Keyzerhoff at Hamburgh.

The 24th I left Lubeck, and took the road to Travemund, which is at the distance of about eight miles: it is properly the port to Lubeck, for here the ships of great burthen take in, and deliver their cargoes:

the harbour is very safe and convenient; and that, and the town, are well fortified at the expence of the Lubeckers. Having breakfasted, and been civilly entertained, I took chaise again for Eutyn, at the distance of about sixteen miles. All the country, from Lubeck thither, except a few moory places, is pretty well cultivated, and the soil rich; they seem fond of pasturage, and have large droves of black cattle, and numerous herds of swine; and the bacon, they make, is, I think, little, if any thing inferior to that of Westphalia. Eutyn is a little town in a low situation, surrounded with some rich meadows. I dined there at a very indifferent inn, but the landlady managed to get me a very good dish of fish, which she dressed tolerably well; a thing, not common through this country. From hence, I again took chaise for Ploen, where I lodged that night. The country, I passed, was various, but has many marshes, which feed numbers of cattle at this season of the year; but they are not dry enough, till June or July, to turn into. Ploen is very romantically situated on the side of a hill, hanging to a very fine lake of the same name, which is, in some parts, surrounded by hills, all one continued forest of timber. From the window of my bed-chamber,

chamber, I looked down on a part of the town beneath me, then over the lake, which is a fine expanse of water, agreeably varied by fishing boats, and the whole surrounded, in the ampitheatre stile, with hills, covered with wood: I was fortunate in a very fine day, and scarcely ever saw a more striking landscape. The town is strong, from the neighbourhood of a marsh behind the hill, and it is further strengthened by a castle.

In the morning of the 25th, I set out for Kiel, the distance, as the crow flies, is not more than fifteen miles; but the lakes surround it so, and interrupt the road, that I made it twenty-four. The country is various, some of it pretty well cultivated; much forest, some stony tracks, and others of sand; nor is it wanting in large marshes. I stopped at some of the cottages for making enquiries into their husbandry; and I observed, that they appeared very easy and chearful in their circumstances: the government does not seem to be severe. I think the peasants are much more at their ease, than they are in the Electorate of Hanover, or in Westphalia; they were sowing wheat in their fields, which, upon examination, did not seem to be badly prepared:

pared : I remarked, they sowed no land with wheat, but what was well manured ; for which purpose, they use a compost, which they are very attentive and careful in making : it consists in litter, the dung of their cattle, earth, dug out of bogs, and wood ashes ; this they mix together, by turning over several times, and once or twice a week, they water it well, by throwing up the emptyings of a little reservoir near it, which fills, with the drainings of the dunghill, from rains : this system appears to be very enlightened ; whether it was recommended by authors, who have written on husbandry, I do not recollect, but it certainly deserves attention.

Kiel is a town of some note in this country, from its trade, which is carried on by means of a bay of the Baltick, that comes up to it, and mixes its waters with those of the lake. It is pretty well built, the streets strait and wide, and has some public buildings, deserving of notice ; particularly a ducal palace, an university, a town-house where the estates of the Duchy used to meet, and an hospital, together with a castle on a hill, which once was strong ; a wall divides it into an old and new town ; the new is the best built, but the best streets in it are disfigured by rows of trees, which Dutch custom,

tom, of *rus in urbe*, is detestable. The rows of trees on the harbour are better, and form some walks, agreeable enough.

From Kiel I reached Rendsburgh by night, through a country, principally addicted to feeding cattle. I found the peasants, seemed to be easy in their circumstances; most of them are little farmers, and masters of large herds of cattle and hogs. I found in some parts, that they hired little farms of the nobility, upon lease, which is, what I had not seen for a long while; and these people appear to profit by the favour, though their farms are too small to shew it much, and some of them, consisting in nothing more, than a regular licence of turning a certain number of cattle and hogs into certain woody tracks of forest land. Rendsburgh is pretty strongly fortified, but I do not think it, within many degrees, of being impregnable, which the inhabitants give out. I met with excellent entertainment at the Lubeck Arms in this place, and at a very reasonable rate: I had wild fowl, lobsters, potted moor game, and several other dishes for my supper, with a bottle of wine, which they called claret, but resembled the port, we drink in England from Guernsey; and the whole reckoning, for myself, two servants, and three horses, came

came to no more than fifteen shillings English.

The 26th, I took the first stage to Sleswick, which is the capital of the duchy of the same name; the distance is near twenty miles, through a much better cultivated country, than any I had seen, since I left Lubeck. It is situated on the river Sley, which falls into the Baltick within five miles of it. It is fortified pretty strongly, well built, the streets wide, and some of them well paved, and the place very populous for its size. Among the public buildings is a ducal palace, which they shew to strangers: it does not contain much, that is worthy of notice, except a library, which contains a few antient manuscripts, and a cabinet of rarities in natural history, which has a few things, that are really curious. In the gardens, are some water-works, and many walks in the old taste, which the poor people of this country think great exertions of magnificence. The principal church is antient, and a very large fabric: it contains many monuments of the ducal families, but none that will yield much entertainment to a traveller.

From Sleswick I reached Flensburgh by night, which is at the distance of about seventeen

yenteen miles. This stage was through a country, which, upon the whole, is pretty well cultivated. I observed in many of the farms, that they were sowing rye, the soil being a light, sandy loam: upon enquiring why they did not apply it to wheat, they said, they had no compost for it; from whence I understood, that the distinction, they make between these grains, is, that rye will do upon the same land as wheat, though no manure is spread; and that wheat will do upon the rye land, if well manured. The farms, I stopped at, were cultivated by peasants, for a nobleman in the neighbourhood. It is a mistake to suppose, that the peasants in Denmark are sold with the land, like cattle; from what I observed, they seem to have some degree of property in the farms, they cultivate; but I am sensible, that they owe much of their ease, under which they live, to some new regulations, which have lately been issued by the ministry at Copenhagen. I observed several fields of turnips with cabbage leaves, of which I made mention before; these they cultivate for their cattle in winter, and they find, they are hardy enough for the severest winters, which is certainly a very valuable quality. In summer, they have tolerable pasturage
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for their cattle, but in winter, they are often much troubled to find food enough.

The town of Flensburgh is very well situated at the bottom of a bay of the Baltick. It is very well built of brick ; the streets being broad, strait, and some of them very well paved ; but others, very deep and miry. The harbour is a good one, admitting ships of four hundred tons burthen up to the town ; this is such an advantage, that the town carries on a pretty good trade. The principal building in the town is St. John's church, which is an handsome edifice : the situation of the town is romantic, being nearly surrounded with mountains, at a small distance. I found very decent accommodation here, at the sign of the Prince ; and upon explaining to my landlord my design of travelling through the whole Peninsula of Jutland, before I took the tour of the islands to Copenhagen, and that I should go first to Rypen, he assured me, that I should find it, but a disagreeable journey ; that I had near forty miles to Rypen, without one public accommodation, at which I could think of lodging ; that even for my dinner, he would recommend me to take some cold fowl and ham, with a lobster or two, and some wines : he told me, that I should

should find the people very civil, and that my horses would be taken good care of, and well fed. This advice of my landlord I thought very rational, and therefore determined to pursue it; and I had no reason to repent of the precaution. I found the country, very well cultivated, much better, than any I had been in, since I entered Denmark. I passed by very little waste land; most of it was occupied by corn, not yet reaped, by stubbles, by turnips, or by meadows and pastures. There was an essential difference, I found, between the state of the countrymen in some tracks, from what I observed in others; for I passed through some estates, in which they had no property, but seemed to be as entirely dependant on the will of the landlord, as the cattle in the fields; and it was visible, in the misery, which I found in the cottages, that this state of villainage is pernicious to the interests of their country. Another circumstance I remarked was, the country seats, which are spread, though thinly, over the country: through Germany, I took notice scarcely of one; but in this country I reckoned five between Flensburgh and Ry-pen. They have, in general, a melancholy, sequestered appearance, being usually the
remains

remains of old castles, with large moats of water around them; and the whole half surrounded with a thick wood. These houses belong, either to nobles or gentlemen; but the latter have almost as many privileges, as the former: they are all occupied in cultivating their estates; but it is very extraordinary to see, that the land thus managed by the owner, is not better conducted, than the other tracks in the hands of the farmers and peasants.

The town of Ryben stands on the river Nipsaw, which forms three channels, and divides the place into as many parts: it falls into the North sea about three miles below the town, and forms one of the best harbours in Denmark. This advantage occasions trade here in fisheries, also some to Hamburgh, a little to Amsterdam; and they have a few small ships, which use the trade from Norway and the Baltick to England. There is a university here, but it is not in a flourishing situation; it is likewise the see of a Bishop; and they have for their defence a fortified castle. Their church is built of hewn stone; the steeple is so high, that it serves as a land-mark to sailors on this coast, which is generally esteemed very dangerous.

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The 28th, I dined at Warde, a little town twenty miles from Rypen, on a river, which falls into the German ocean, and which maintains a few fishermen. One merchant only resides here, who carries on a tolerable trade, with a few masters of ships, who likewise are in trade; but the amount of all is very inconsiderable. The twenty miles, I travelled to this place, is through a country, containing very little waste land: there is much corn land in it, and plenty of good pasture, with numerous herds of cattle; yet the inhabitants complain bitterly of the murrain, which has ruined many farmers here. I remarked several farms in this district, which appeared to be in as good order, as most I had seen in England, and managed in a manner, that made them much resemble those of England, and particularly in the enclosures: the fields were divided by hedges, kept in excellent order, and secured by deep and well made ditches; there were borders of grass around them, and the corn, turnips, and stubble, all shewed a husbandry, superior to the common run of the North. Another circumstance also was, the tillage being performed with only four oxen; whereas I have seen many ploughs here drawn by six or eight, or by six Holstein

horses: the peasants in all Denmark are very cautious of working any more ploughs, than they can possibly help, as they pay a tax for every one; this appears to be as great an instance of impolicy in the government, as ever I met with in any country; there is not, in the circle of political œconomy, any object, more important than that of the proper method of imposing taxes: supposing it was right, that the husbandry of a country should be saddled with a great proportion of them, yet is it of vast importance to lay them on in such a manner, that they shall not occasion evils, greater than their benefits, and be losses, instead of gains to a government. Every shilling, that is laid upon ploughs, weavers shuttles, or merchants ships, robs the state of pounds.

Advancing with some expedition, I got to Ringskopping, seven and twenty miles from Warde, through a country, part of which is pretty well cultivated; but it contains much waste. That town is a port, which, by means of a long peninsula running before it, is very secure from all winds; they have a little trade here. I saw three or four ships in the harbour, which had been in the Baltick, and at England: I find, there are many ships, kept in these little ports, in
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Denmark, which are chiefly maintained by carrying deals to London, and other parts of England, principally from Norway; and at these little towns, they are generally the property of the captain, at least, he has a principal share in them. There is nothing worthy of note in Ringskopping; and the inn, I took up at, was a miserable one, but the people were civil.

The 29th in the morning, I passed on towards Hodsedbrugh, the distance is twenty three miles; part of the country is mountainous, and has the appearance of a black moor; but the flat parts are pretty well cultivated. I passed through two noblemens estates, whose castles were within sight; and I found, on enquiry, that they were all cultivators of their own lands, by means of the peasants, who are generally in a state of villinage. I had the accident of my chaise, breaking down on a stoney piece of road, near one of these castles, which would have been an unlucky circumstance, for smiths and wheel-wrights are wonderfully scarce, but in the larger villages; fortunately, however, the owner of the castle, Count Roncellen, as they called him, was on horseback, in sight of my distress: he rode up to us, and viewing the accident,

spoke to me in Danish and German, but my postillion replying to him, he addressed me in French, upon finding, that I did not understand those languages. He enquired very politely, from whence I came, and where I was going? I told him, my business was a journey of curiosity, to view the different kingdoms of the North; that I was an Englishman, and came last from Ham-
burgh. He then, in a very easy and agreeable manner, desired me to walk up to his chateau, and he would take care to send a smith, and other people, to repair my carriage for me. This adventure pleased me much, not only for its extricating me out of such a difficulty, but also for giving me an opportunity to make enquiries into those circumstances of the country, in which I was desirous of gaining information. Accepting, therefore, his invitation, we moved towards the castle, and the Count, alighting from his horse, walked with me, leading him.

He made several enquiries into the motives of my journey. This, says he, is but a wild neglected country, containing very little to be seen, and scarcely ever visited by travellers; nobody, I believe, comes into Denmark, said he, but such as go directly
to

to Copenhagen; and we, being out of that route, are scarcely ever visited by travellers. I replied, that I had, many years ago, travelled through France, Italy, and the best part of Germany; but upon my return to England, I found, I had been the tour, that every body else goes, and which has been described a thousand times; that I had a great curiosity to see the Northern parts of Europe, which are seldom visited by travellers of my country; and upon my return from Italy, I determined, whenever I could easily command the time, to examine them attentively; that I had this year carried it into execution, having passed through Holland, Flanders, Westphalia, Hanover, and was now on the tour of Denmark. The Count replied, that I might meet with entertainment in Holland and Flanders, but as to Westphalia, the Electorate of Hanover, and Holstein and Sleswick, they could afford very little entertainment to a man, who had travelled in France and Italy, and who had resided in England. In answer, I said, that I did not come into the North to see pictures and statues, or to hear operas, but to observe the manners of the people, the state of agriculture, the nature of manufactures, and the general appear-

ance of the country. Oh! Oh! said he, you travel then philosophically; I ran through England, France, Italy, and all Germany, but, unfortunately, not with the view, that you now make the objects of your journey.

This conversation held us, till we got to the castle; the Count carried me through several large rooms, to one, in which the breakfast equipage was spread; presently, a lady of middle age appeared, and also a young gentleman; the Count introduced me to them; the one was his sister, and the other his nephew, a young Lord, who was just going upon a journey of pleasure to England, being related to the Baron de Furstentein, Ambassador Extraordinary from Denmark at the court of London. They both received me very politely, and entered into conversation in French upon my travels. Breakfast was presently served up, it consisted only of coffee, milk, and a basin of water gruel for the Count, which seemed to be his regular diet. The young nobleman, whose name was Baron de Raden, made many enquiries concerning England, all which I replied to, as well as I was able: I found, he intended making a residence there long enough to gain the language. The Count asked me several particulars of my
ideas

ideas concerning Denmark: he said, I must see a great difference in the country, in the population, and the industry of the inhabitants, between England and their country. I observed, that our peasants in England were in much happier circumstances, and which must necessarily occasion a greater populousness; and that the custom in England, of letting the lands in farms, was the reason, that our agriculture made a so much better figure than in Denmark. That, replied the Count, is very true, but we have the advantage of you in other circumstances; our nobility and gentry of large fortunes cultivate their own estates, though of great extent; and certainly this makes the soil yield a greater produce, than if it was under the management of a parcel of miserable peasants. True, Sir, replied I, but our soil is not managed by miserable peasants, but by rich farmers, many of them men of considerable substance and independance; if they were all as poor as the peasants of Denmark, I should agree with you at once.

The Count then observed to me, that I was in an error, in supposing, that they had no farmers in Denmark; we do not call them so, continued he, but boors and peasants indiscriminately, whether they hire

lands of us, or whether they are in a state of villainage; and to convince you of this, I will, before dinner, shew you some farms, that I have lett, almost in the English manner; and I will, at the same time, have the pleasure of shewing you a little manufactory, which I have established on my estate, for the employment of the poor. A servant soon after came in, to let me know, that my chaise was repaired, and ready to proceed. I made a motion to take my leave; but the Count, in a most obliging manner, assured me, that I should spend the day with him; and not hearing any excuses, ordered the horses to be taken off, and put into his stables, and the servant and postillion to be taken care of. I thanked him for his civility, but he said, the pleasure would be all his own. He then ordered horses to be got ready for us, that he might shew me some of his undertakings.

As we rode along, he expressed himself in general as follows: The trade and manufactures, Sir, that have been spread through most parts of Europe, have lessened every where the value of money; this we have found in Denmark, though perhaps not in such a degree, as you have in England; the consequence has been, that the nobility, who
live

live upon the stated income of their estates, find themselves every day poorer and poorer: this is occasioned by the products of their lands, not selling at a price proportioned to the rates of those commodities, they chiefly buy: this, I apprehend, is not the case with you, as I hear, and indeed see, by some of your news-papers, that there are many complaints among you, on account of the high prices of the necessaries of life; this proves to me, that the value of the estates in England must be greatly raised, which then throws your nobility upon a par with those, whose incomes vary with the variations of money: this, I suppose, is owing to the great number of manufactures among you, which occasions an increase of population, and that brings with it an increase of the value of all the articles, consumed by manufacturers. Now it is, in this particular, that Denmark is unfortunate: it is true, our gracious King is really the father of his people, and has formed more establishments in favour of the arts and commerce, than half the monarchs of Europe; he has fixed manufactures of several sorts in various parts of his dominions, but these are too inconsiderable yet, to have a general effect: they are, however,

however, of great utility to their respective neighbourhoods; and it is the observation of this, that has induced me to attend to the best methods of improving an extensive property around this castle, which yielded, when I came to it, but an inconsiderable income.

From what I have observed, continued the Count, in England, France, and Holland, the value of land, that is the income of it, depends exactly on the neighbourhood of manufactures; for land, no where lets so well, as close to great cities. What we want in Denmark, is a market; we have had several edicts in favour of agriculture, but giving us a market for our products, would be better than a thousand edicts: with these ideas, it is, that I have been so solicitous to increase the number of people on my estate, and to add to their consumption, being under the conviction, that if I can fix an industrious colony of manufacturers on it, I shall, of course, improve the agriculture of it.

Here I observed to him, that agriculture, if left to itself, would not thus be sufficiently improved.

I comprehend you, replied the Count; old customs will continue among the peasants,

fants, however absurd they may be ; but I did not mean, that I had left them to themselves entirely, only, that the providing a market was the first object, as all other means or changes in the common practice would, without that, do nothing: for of what consequence is it, that you teach your people to be excellent husbandmen, if they do not find it easy to get money for their good crops ? I can further have the satisfaction of telling you, that I find from experience, that these ideas are just ; for since I fully entered into the spirit of this conduct, I have seen the truth of it, exemplified on my own estate ; for since I have fixed some manufacturers here, and built a village for them, the products, which the farmers have raised, have found a much better market, and paid them better for their trouble, than ever was known before.

We had arrived, by this time, on the confines of a little town, which made a very agreeable figure, upon the side of a hill, in a fruitful spot, with a river at the bottom of the declivity.

Here, said the Count, is a little town, every house of which I have built myself, and filled them with manufacturers. We entered it ; he shewed me the fabrics, which
he

he had established; they were chiefly of wool: there were great numbers of spinners, combers, and weavers; they made coarse cloth, worn by the poor people of all this country. The manager of the works was an Englishman from Essex, who, I suppose, the Count had brought with him, when he was upon his tour through England. I am no judge of these sort of works, but the people, native Danes, as well as the Englishmen, carry on their work with quickness and intelligence. The Count informed me, that he had four hundred hands employed upon woollen goods alone; that he wrought up all the sorts of cloathing, which found a ready market in this country, that is, such as all the country men and women wore. I asked him, how he succeeded as to profit? He replied, very indifferently, if I speak as a manufacturer; for had I been a mere master of it, I should have been ruined. What this is owing to, I know not; but I suppose, to my not being able to give that attention to the business, which a man would do, who is to make his bread by it. However, Sir, continued he, I make all, I wish for, by it; I pay my expences, and there is enough left to answer all the demands, which are made on me, on account
of

of the buildings I have erected; so that I am a clear gainer of the number of people, I have fixed on my estate; and I dare say, you comprehend my meaning sufficiently to see, that this was the only profit, I wished to reap.

The Count shewed me another manufactory, which was that of leather; he had erected several tanneries, which prepared the hides for manufacturing into doublets, breeches, boots, stockings, and shoes; of these various artists, he has to the number of near three hundred; and the products of their labour find, like those of his woollen manufacture, a free and quick sale in the neighbouring country. M. le Count informed me, that this manufacture was more profitable to him, than that of woollen goods. The next fabric he shewed me, was that of turners ware. He had laid in large stocks of beech wood, elm, horn-beam, holly, and several other sorts; and fixed many artists, in this way, to turn dishes, plates, platters, cups, saucers, bowls, scoops, and various other articles, which are in common use among the people in all the adjacent towns and villages; of these artists, he reckons one hundred and twenty persons,

persons, employed in preparing and working up the raw materials.

He has also a small linen manufactory, which employs above forty hands, and of which, the success is so advantageous, that it increases every day: they work up only coarse cloths for sheets, shirts, and other purposes, among the lower ranks of people.

But none of his works seemed to please this most patriotic nobleman, equal to his manufacturies of iron; of these, he worked all sorts of implements in common use, whether for the furniture of houses, or domestic utensils; the machines for artists, such as wheelwrights, carpenters, blacksmiths; the implements of husbandry, such as ploughs, harrows, rollers, carts, waggons, spades, shovels, forks, rakes, axes, &c. all these he worked in great numbers, and found a ready vent for them. These fabrics employed above two hundred men.

All these undertakings employ above a thousand hands, and the success of them has proved so great, as to fix above two thousand inhabitants in the town, he has built for them. It consists of about three hundred houses, all of which the Count either built at his own expence, or advanced part of the
the

money towards them, or granted certain privileges to those, who made him proposals of building. The streets are laid out very regularly, intersecting each other at right angles; in the center is a large market-place, and in the midst of it, a small, but neat church; all the town is well paved; the houses are small, but all raised with brick, and covered with tiles, and make a very regular and agreeable appearance.

The bricks and tiles are all burnt in kilns adjoining the town, belonging to the Count, and the timber is cut in his forests; so that the expences were very small, compared to what they would have been in different circumstances; but notwithstanding these advantages, the Count assured me, that in three and twenty years, since he began these works, he has expended in them the sum of above thirty three thousand ducats, which make near sixteen thousand pounds. This account includes the church, the paving the town, and the erecting the works and buildings for the several manufactures above mentioned, besides the houses and shares of houses: exclusive of this expence, he has been employed three years in erecting a handsome bridge over the river, a wharf on the banks of it, with warehouses
for

for merchandize, and dry and wet docks for building barges, and decked sloops on the river: the tide flows up to the town, though at a considerable distance from the sea; and the Count, among his noble plans, has schemed the fixing a trade at it. This town is situated between Pallisberg and Wingaard: the river falls into the gulph, that Ringkopping stands on, but he is at present employed in cutting a canal, about two miles long, to gain a better navigation into a bay to the northward, near Wofborg. By this means, he hopes to be able to navigate brigs of one hundred tons; whereas he has, at present, only five sloops, each of fifty tons. These he employs all himself, in bringing materials for his manufactures from the Baltick, England, and Holland. His bridge, wharf, docks; and warehouses, he calculates, will cost him sixteen thousand ducats, and his navigation, above three thousand.

I do not remember ever receiving so much real pleasure, as from viewing these great and noble exertions of princely magnificence, which infinitely exceed all the costly ornaments, which, in some countries, are given to the seats of the great. They reflect immortal honour on the worthy Count,

Count, who has the spirit, thus to prosecute the noblest works, which Europe can exhibit. Other noblemen, in Denmark, have fortunes, equal to this illustrious Count; in England, we have fortunes double and treble to his; but where are we to find an expenditure of a great estate, that reflects equal lustre on the owner? I must confess, I never yet met with an example, comparable to this, nor can I possibly dwell on it in the manner, it most richly deserves.

It was the employment of the day for the Count to carry me through all the manufactures, and the different parts of the town; he returned to the castle to a late dinner. I mentioned, taking my leave of him, but, with great politeness, and in the most obliging manner, he desired me to defer my journey, saying, he had shewn me only his manufactures, but he had the effects of them on agriculture, yet to let me see. At dinner, and in the evening, we had abundance of conversation, concerning the objects, I had seen in the day; and, particularly, on the means, by which the Count had been able to effect the establishment of the manufactures, I had seen.

The beginning of all my undertakings, said that illustrious nobleman, I found

ever the most difficult. In establishing the woollen fabrick, I had infinite difficulties at first, in opening a regular channel, by which to receive the wool, for our own was so bad, that I could use scarce any of it; and then to get people, used to the different works, from picking and sorting for the spinners, quite to the weavers, who finished the working of it. Most of the people, I procured from Germany and Flanders; but a few, who proved more useful to me, than all the rest, from Scotland, and two or three, from England. To all these people I have been forced to give great salaries, to build them fine houses, and to put up with many irregularities; but I was indefatigable, in making my own people learn of them, what they could perform; and the best way of doing this, I found, was to give a premium to the foreigners, for every hand they perfected in every branch of work. Several of these people are dead, and I have not taken any pains to recruit their number; for my Danes are now, many of them, as expert as their masters. I have, however, very often straggling parties of Germans, who come to ask work, which I never fail giving them; and building houses immediately
for

for them, if they continue in the mind of settling. This has, in general, been my conduct with every one of the fabrics, except one, which has hitherto been entirely conducted and worked by native Danes; but I meditate attempting some new manufactures, for which, I must have recourse to other countries, for a few hands to instruct us. From the beginning of the undertaking, I found the necessity of uniting the characters of merchant and manufacturer; for had it not been for the possession of a little shipping, which supplied me with whatever materials were wanting, I should never have been able to bring my works to the height, at which they are now arrived. My sloops are strong and well built, and run, without difficulty, wherever I send them, to the Baltic, to England, Scotland, Holland, France, and even to the Mediterranean; with the advantage of coming up into the heart of my town. I once had a brig of two hundred tons, but I found too much inconvenience and expence in sending such a vessel for a cargo of not more than forty or fifty tons, unless I turned trader, and lost by the business; besides, her being forced to lye in the gulph, instead of coming up to the town, so that I

fold her in Holland, and have found my sloops, far more convenient and profitable, as with them, I can always take a full cargo, of whatever they are sent for. I have a Dutch ship-carpenter, who builds them for me, and he has six Danes under him, two of whom have worked in the King's yard at Copenhagen. This establishment is not more than three years old, but I purpose to keep it regular, and even to increase it: they have built me five sloops, each of fifty tons, which have performed their business exceedingly well, and are excellent sailors. You saw two more on the stocks, both which are herring buffes, built exactly on the same plan, as those in Holland; with them I purpose attempting the herring fishery; for I have observed in my travels, and you certainly must have remarked the same thing, that nothing spreads more industry, or maintains so many people, as fisheries; and at the same time, the Danes make excellent ones; and I have no doubt of succeeding, as I have, though at a great expence, got three Dutch fishermen, used to their art of barrelling; if I meet with success, I shall increase the buffes; and when the canal, I shewed you, is finished, I shall build some larger sloops, and a brig
or

or two of an hundred tons, for carrying the product of the fishery up the Streights; from whence, I hope to return home loaded with salt, which, by that time, I shall have fixed a market for.

My great object is to make every part of my general plan, unite to form one whole, by rendering each division of it, the support of another: At first, I was forced to send out my sloops, wherever they went, empty; but as my manufactures have increased, I have sent out some loads of them, which have obtained a very good market; I have loaded others with corn, having a perpetual licence from the King for that purpose; if my fishery proceeds, I shall never be obliged to go out empty, which is a very essential object.

All these works, I find, have a wonderful efficacy in increasing the people on my estate. I before told you, that the town has above two thousand inhabitants in it, though not a hut was standing there, three and twenty years ago; my buildings increase considerably every year; I have a great number of brick and lime burners, masons, smiths, and carpenters, that do nothing else, but build houses for the new comers. This work regulates all the rest, for it is the first, I pro-

vide cash for, being the great object of all the rest; and what sum is spared from this, I expend upon the other works. I raised five and thirty houses last year, and the number this year will be near forty. From the applications, I have received, I apprehend, I shall, next year, build more than sixty; but the expence will be so large, that I shall be forced to retard my other undertakings. You shall to-morrow see the effect, which this population has had upon my husbandry.

We passed the evening in conversation of this sort, in which the young Baron joined occasionally, and shewed, that he had a proper idea of the great works, which his uncle was carrying on. The Count shewed me a map of his estate, as it was, when his father left it him. The extent is nine English miles one way, and more than four another; but somewhat indented. It is a fine variegated country of hill and dale, with some mountains, well watered with rivers, streams, and lakes; and part of it, nobly spread with exceeding fine timber. This was the description, he gave me of it on explaining the map.

In the morning early, horses were ready for us, and the Count, riding some miles
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from his castle, came into a track of cultivated country, all his own, at the extremity of his estate, opposite to the part, on which the town is built. Here we rode through many valleys, and sides of hills, all cultivated, with great numbers of farm houses and cottages, the inhabitants of which seemed as easy, chearful, and happy, as if they had been resident in England, instead of Denmark; they all appeared to be pleased with the presence of their lord, and I have no doubt, but they esteem him, as their father, as well as master. This part of my estate, said the Count, addressing himself to me, was cultivated of old, and it is all, that was so; I found it farmed by my father's bailiffs and villains, and the appearance it made, was very uninviting, and the people extremely miserable; I arranged it a-new, formed most of the inclosures you see, built most of these houses; and to all the people, that were industrious and saving, I lett farms, according to their ability of living and stocking; and I found very soon, that this way of managing the land, brought me in a better revenue, than the cultivating it on my own account; for the bailiffs, I trusted, generally turned out great rascals, and cheated me, at the same time, that they in-

finitely oppressed the peasants. In my travels through England, I had fixed the design of letting farms, from the great success, I saw attending it there; I liked the plan, every day better and better, and by giving encouragements to such, as tilled their land well, and kept their farms in good order, and by shewing no favour to idle persons and slovens, I brought them to be wonderfully attentive, so that, at present, I do not think, you have many estates in Scotland, or Ireland, better cultivated, than this part of mine, and some, not better in England. I should, however, tell you, that I did not leave them to the customs of their own country entirely, but procured workmen and implements from Flanders, to instruct them in the practice of methods, to which they were unaccustomed. This I did not find so difficult a business, as might be expected; for very luckily, the people, I procured, were sensible and intelligent, and pointed out with great propriety the courses of management, most proper for the lands; our soil, they thought not good enough for the Flemish crops of coleseed, madder, &c. but ought rather to be applied to the productions of wheat, barley, oats, pease, beans, turnips, clover, &c. I was entirely
of

of the same opinion, and rewarded them for their advice, sending them home, after they had fully instructed my Danes in the use of their implements; we have stuck very closely to these ever since, except the introduction of some others from England, which have likewise been well approved by them. I have given premiums for the best ploughmen; others, more considerable, for the best crops of all sorts; and have been very attentive to spread among them the culture of turnips and clover, as the most advantageous means of wintering their herds of cattle.

The attention of this sort, which I have given to their management, has been attended with great effects, for though I have been all over Denmark more than once, I know scarcely any spot, so well cultivated as this; and you will readily allow, that I have found the work profitable, when I tell you, that great tracks of this improved land yield me a rent of a ducat and half for an English acre; and some of it two ducats, (which is from fourteen to eighteen shillings) but it has not been so high rented, many years; it hath been so, only since the increase of my town has been considerable, which, by providing them the market, they so much wanted,

ed, has enriched them all, and is a strong proof of the justness of the principles, upon which I first undertook all my works.

You observe, continued the Count, that there are waste tracks on yonder hills, which join the inclosures; they are very extensive, spreading for some miles; but the inclosures increase every year, and in great numbers: the way, I manage, is this, I allow the farmers the expence of inclosing, whatever they like to take contiguous to their farms, provided, they never have more land, than they keep well cultivated, and I take no rent for such fields, during the first five years; after that they pay me for them about half the value, which continues, as long as the improver lives, but on his death, I raise it to the full value. These terms, they think so reasonable, that there is not a peasant among them, but what makes a small addition every year; and others, who get or save money, have fresh farms compleat, on the same terms, except, paying me further the interest of the money I expend in buildings for them. I am very attentive to these new tracks of cultivated land, to see that they do not neglect them; for I never suffer an inclosure to continue uncultivated. I have attended to the expences, and the produce

produce of these improvements, and it is not easy to be conceived, what advantage I find in them. The greatest expences, those of the buildings, I at once enter upon interest for, and the rents, in five years after the first beginnings, yield me an ample return for the expences of the inclosure, so that I find no way of laying out money, more beneficial than this. These cultivated tracks are seven miles from the town, which I erected at a distance, not only for the convenience of a port, (which originally did not strike me, as a matter of the greatest importance) but chiefly, on account of the great extent of waste land at that extremity of my estate. I built the town, with a view to force improvements there; but the increase of inhabitants has made it a market of such consequence, that these farmers all resort to it, and carry thither their products; and I find, from very minute enquiries, that they never raise any commodity, which does not then bring them a ready price. While this is the case, I am perfectly satisfied with my success, for it was the grand object, I had in view from the beginning; and nothing can hardly prevent the improvements of the wastes, I possess, while this continues the case; nor have I
much

much fear of it, for the town increases so much, that its demand will, on course, occasion an improvement of such waste lands.

Another circumstance, observed the Count, is the nature of the soils, around this cultivated part of my estate. I made it a rule some years ago, that every peasant, who wished to encrease his farm, should take the waste, that was contiguous to him, without any regard to the goodness or the badness of the soil. This occasioned me some difficulty at first, for some of them came to portions of hilly land, that was very stony, and of a most unprofitable countenance; and others to boggy places, which would, through wetness, admit of no sort of use. Such of them made representations to me upon this head, asserting, that they were desirous of increasing their farms, but the lands, that joined them, were so very sterile and unprofitable, that they could not venture on them, requesting me, to allow them to pass by such desert spots, and take in more promising ones. These petitions I made it a rule never to grant, as I was very sensible, that if I once gave into the idea of the real unprofitableness of these spots, they would never meet with any culture, and consequently, remain barren to eternity: I therefore

therefore replied to them, that such pieces of land, as they mentioned, were, by no means, sterile, if once they were attempted with becoming spirit; that I should look with a very favourable eye on all such as tried the culture of them with true industry and perseverance; that as an encouragement to them, I would, on the dry lands, be at half the expence of removing the stones; and on the bogs, I would be at half the expence of draining, and, at the same time, find them an engineer gratis, to mark out their cuts, and oversee the execution of them; but that I would, on no account, have one acre of waste passed by.

This conduct, Sir, continued this excellent nobleman, had its effect; they made no more complaints of bad soils, but attacked all they met with, and have been every where victorious; when some of them got into the bogs, the draining of half of which was even too much for their ability, I took care, that the works should not stop, but advanced money to them to enable them to overcome all difficulties; and such has been my success, that several tracks of rich meadow, now within our sight in yonder valley, worth two ducats an English acre, were a bog, that yielded no sort of advantage

tage to any one; and the peasants themselves allow, that no land, they meet with, answers so well, as the boggy tracts, especially for meadows; and I find, by various trials, which they have made, as well as by others, executed more immediately under my own direction, in another part of my estate, that no soils are found in our wastes, but what will pay extremely well for improving. By adhering strictly to the conduct I mentioned to you, several of these people have improved some pieces, which you would have pronounced irreclaimable, but which are now covered with very fine crops of corn and grass.

During the time, that this most interesting conversation lasted, the Count carried me through several of their farms. I am no connoisseur in husbandry, but from the observation, which I have made in England and in Flanders, which are, I think, gardens compared with other countries, most of these farms appear to be under an excellent management. The articles, which the Count pointed out particularly, were a freedom from weeds, neat fences, large dunghills, and plenty of winter food for cattle. In all these circumstances, these farms are in high order; the lands in general very clean, those preparing

preparing for wheat, particularly so, the corn crops the same. The fences are chiefly of hornbeam and holly, and interlaced so strongly, as to be impenetrable, with deep and well cut ditches to them every where. As to dunghills, I never saw any track of country, where the husbandmen seemed more attentive to them. The men from Flanders taught them the importance of compost heaps, by which are meant mixtures of various sorts of manures; they form them chiefly of earth, dung, and litter, burnt clay, and peat ashes; the latter, the Count instructed them in, from hints he had in England, which surprised me, as I do not remember to have seen any thing of that sort in any of our countries; it is a fine, soft, moory sort of bog burnt: What use the burnt clay can be of, I know not, but they say, they find the advantage of it. These composts, they keep two years, before they use them, turning them over several times, and usually spread them either for turnips or clover, generally the latter. In respect to winter food for cattle, they cultivate much clover and natural grass, mowing both for hay; and also many fields of turnips, generally the sort, that has cabbage leaves. These are secure from damage by frosts; and with their hay
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and straw, enable them to winter-keep great stocks of cattle. In general, the farmers of the country did not make such advantage by cattle, as they ought, for want of a market for such, as they fat, or for the butter and cheese of the dairies; but the Count's new town has brought an entire remedy for this evil to all his tenants, as the inhabitants of it form a ready market for all such provisions, which proves a very great advantage to the peasants. Formerly, their cattle was all sold lean to the Dutch drovers.

The viewing all these circumstances consumed the day, and the hospitable Count insisted on my making a further stay with him, saying, that I had not yet seen his own farm, which he reserved for the next day; and I must own, I never passed any time with greater satisfaction; for this very patriotic nobleman appeared rather a being of romance, a vision of perfection, than a real instance of so many public and private virtues; but I considered myself, as peculiarly fortunate in meeting with an object, that much more than recompensed me for all the trouble and expence, I had bestowed on my travels, had I seen nothing else.

The next morning, he conducted me a different way, taking a rounding course towards

wards the town, at the distance of three miles from the castle ; the principal part of the way was through a territory, extremely well cultivated, some of it was lett in farms to the peasants, but we soon came into his own farm, which is of a vast extent, and spreads itself almost around the town. From the rising grounds in this part, I could see no waste land, but all the distant views, for two or three miles every way, were all under culture.

This part of my estate, said the Count, was once reckoned the very worst of it all, and not an acre in cultivation ; this, I believe, I told you, was one inducement for placing the town here. Nobody would even hire farms here, so bad an opinion had they of the soil ; but by building the town upon it, I gave it a double value ; first, the convenience of vicinity to a market ; and secondly, the ease of procuring manure ; still, however, it continued, in general, waste for several years, except a few bogs, near the town, which they drained and improved for the more convenience of keeping their horses, and a few cows. Finding this backwardness of the peasants, I undertook the work myself, knowing, that in case I succeeded, of which I had very little doubt, they

would be ready enough to take farms, after they were improved. The soil was in general thrown into broad extending flats, which were all either marsh or bog; and the rising grounds of considerable extent also, and hills, were all sand, some of it red, and some a black sand; none of the spontaneous growth at all promising.

My first business was to fix upon a spot in the center of very large track of these lands, where I built a house for a bailiff, and put into it one, I had procured from Flanders. This was not a wise choice, for the man was much too full of a rich soil, he had been used to, and had not patience sufficient with this poor one; but then I found him a treasury in docility, and one, on whom I could ever depend for a punctual obedience of my orders; qualities, which I have since found to be much better in such a manager, than knowledge. I raised some large barns, many houses for cattle, granaries, store rooms, and all conveniences for a very large farm, which I had any where seen in my travels. While these edifices were erecting, I made a sound and firm road, directly from them to the town; this was a work of much expence in the bogs, but I knew it to be indispensable. The build-
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ings I had raised in the center of a small rising ground, which were in the middle of a very extensive flat of marsh and bog. There, said he, you see it extends a great distance. The sandy track, in the middle, was about a mile over every way, and lying nearest to the buildings, I improved it first. On my beginning this work, I turned over all the writers on husbandry in my possession, to see what were their directions for the improvement of a poor, sandy soil. I found nothing satisfactory; but they recommended marl, which totally depended on the circumstance of having it; nor did they give any directions, how to judge, if marl was likely to be found. The husbandry of marling light land, I had seen myself in your country, in the province of Norfolk, but as well as I remembered, the marl was so near the surface, as to be discovered in every ditch; however, as the object was important, I bored, in several places, for marl, but found nothing but sand, and under it, at a vast depth, flint, and then clay. I was therefore obliged to improve this land without any marl. I formed the whole hill into inclosures, and my bailiff tilled, manured, and sowed the fields with various crops, which he had seen put into sandy grounds

in Flanders; these were very poor and losing products, except three, buck wheat, carrots, and potatoes. Buck wheat my bailiff despised, but we know it, in Denmark, to be a very valuable crop; and as to the roots, they did not content him; he was for trying to force this sand, by means of manure, brought from the town, to produce every thing, he had seen in Flanders. This rashness I checked, and directed him to extend the above three crops to a large amount; he did so, and succeeded well in the same. The buck wheat was of great use, both as corn and straw for the cattle; and the roots were, part of them, sold to my manufacturers, at a great profit, and the rest, consumed by all sorts of cattle. The trials were again repeated on a yet larger scale, and the success the same; and on the fifth year from the beginning, the whole space of sand, about the buildings, was under these three crops in succession, so as every year to be covered with one or other of them: And they were raised with such success, as enabled us to winter such vast heads of cattle, that the Flanderkin allowed, we could never have more profitably applied the land.

But while this business was going on, the flats demanded attention, for the success of
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the winter roots shewed, that we should want meadow for summer food, and all, my cattle had at first, was what they picked up on the edges of the marshes. Nothing therefore could be a more important object, than to drain and improve these marshes and bogs, which would enable me to keep as many cattle in summer, as the land yielded food for in winter: keeping cattle, I found very profitable, for my town was a constant market for whatever quantities of butter, milk, and cheese, could be carried to it, and also for every kind of fat meat, that was killed. The method, I took with my cows, was to lett them to peasants, in dairies of ten each, for which they gave me an annual rent per cow; and I found them in constant food, winter and summer. I prosecuted the work of draining with unremitting diligence, employing great numbers of hands, and doing the work effectually, as I went; and they were thrown, as soon as drained, into a course of arable husbandry, to prepare for grass; and my Flanders bailiff put me upon one crop for them, which proved far more beneficial than any, which was cabbages; the drained bogs, answered greatly in them. But as grass was the object, they were all laid down to meadow, as

soon as in order; and this regular work of draining and improving them I have carried on ever since, having done all this extent of flat, that you see, and am, at present, going on expeditiously with other tracks out of sight, nor shall I stop, while I have a marsh, or a bog left. The improvement of the sands went on at the same time, with no other variation, than throwing into the course of management of carrots, buck wheat, and potatoes, that of rye, which is my bailiff's addition, in order, to be master of the more straw. But in prosecuting the improvement of the hills, I made a discovery, which proved of vast consequence, as the inclosures multiplied, for we came to a rising ground, that had never been bored for marl, and upon boring in it, we discovered a vast stratum of shells, almost powdered. I had no doubt of such an animal substance, proving a good manure, and accordingly tried them over a large field of poor sand; the fertility, it produced, was amazing; it was so great, that the crops of buck wheat, carrots, and potatoes, were doubled, and even trebled. This was such an acquisition, that I immediately spread these powdered shells over all the lands within reach, which amounted to more, than seven hundred of

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your English acres, and these have since been the most fertile fields of my estate.

This improvement has had a great effect; instead of rye, my bailiff introduces clover on them, and sows wheat after it, which adds greatly to the profit; and the shells have proved so good a manure, that these sands produce now, more wheat, than they did before of rye. The tracks of land, kept in my own farm of grass and arable, amount to above three thousand of your acres; and from the neighbourhood of the town, which for several years, has increased very quickly, the products are carried to so good a market, that my revenue, from this farm alone, is, clear of all expences, not less on an average, than six thousand ducats a year, which is much more, than I could make of it, if it was lett. However, as that track is as much, as I can keep in regular order, and without any loss from confusion, I lett the neighbouring ones, as they are improved, and buildings raised, to peasants, who hire small farms of from forty to two hundred acres each, paying me a very good rent for the land.

The increase of the town, and that of the improvements, answer to each other extremely well, but the latter goes on, rather with the greater celerity; but to keep up

the market price, and never suffer provisions to be too cheap, which, I think, for many reasons, is essential to the welfare of all such undertakings as these, I export in sloops corn, cheese, butter, salted beef, &c. &c. to Holland, whenever the rates of my market are lower, than I think, they ought to be; I do not get so good a price for such goods, as I should, if they were all consumed at home, but they yield enough to make it answer well on the principles, upon which I do it.

In all the improvements, which I have made on my lands, by letting them to the peasants, I have adhered strictly to the rule of proceeding, on the very contrary conduct, which is common among nine tenths of the nobility of the kingdom. They keep their peasants as poor, and as humble as possible; I, on the contrary, do every thing to enable them to enrich themselves, and would rather inspire them with the manly boldness of the poor in your country, than keep them in the slavery of our's. We have a great power over them, and they are bound to perform so many services to their Lord, in person, and with their cattle and teams, if they have any, so that they have very little time to themselves, if they are so unfortunate, as to be subject to an un pitying superior.

superior. People, in such a situation, are by no means fit to assist me in my general plan of improvement, hence therefore, all, that hire land of me, or have rights of commonage or cattle, pay me given rents, exclusive of all services, without a particular bargain; as I make it a rule, never to call on them for any thing, and the sweets of being left to themselves, are so great, that they are induced to pay me the better rents, and make up the surplus by a greater degree of industry; as they find, that whatever they make, is to be for the advantage alone of themselves and families: I find, every day, the advantage of this conduct; my peasants grow into wealthy farmers, or, at least, are all in easy and happy circumstances; they marry, and beget numerous posterities; the population of my estate increases, and, with the people, the general markets for products, which I have all along aimed at, and which is just so much clear gain into my pocket. I have not a man upon my estate, that is not profitable to me, in some way or other; and it is incredible, how quick they increase. There is not such a thing, as a marriagable man or woman upon it, that are unmarried; every man and women, that apply to me for a house, are sure of having one built

built for them, if I know them to be of good characters, and industrious; and they have all a small piece of land, and none, but what are chearful and contented. In such a situation, marriages cannot but abound, and the people increase, in a manner, which none of the countries in Europe have any idea of. Among all my people, there is not one, that is burthensome to the rest; no old peasant, or labourer, but what has saved enough, before he was in years, to live happily in his latter days; very few, but what become little farmers, before they are old, and in a state, in which their relations would think it shameful, to let them want their assistance.

The Count, having shewn me this part of his estate, returned home by a circuit of above five miles, all through an uncultivated waste. You see, said he, addressing himself to me again, that I have yet, a great deal of work to do; all this track of country, with some others, almost as extensive, are as barren, as I found them; but as my improvements advance very quick, I am not without hopes of seeing the whole, some time or other, under culture; in the mean time, it is not totally useless, for I have many shepherds, who attend very considerable

able flocks of sheep, which pasture here; these are all of an improved breed, which I effected, by importing rams from Flanders and from England, in order to provide wool for my manufactory: my flocks fully answered that end some years ago, but since I have increased my fabrics so much, I cannot supply them from my own lands, with all they work up, and am therefore obliged to import from other countries; and what I get, I have chiefly from England, which I freely confess to you. This is not, however, an object of real importance; for the improvement of the land, to yield plenteous crops of corn and roots, is a far more advantageous application of it; and here, by the way, let me start a reflection, which has struck me more than once, in the course of my undertakings. In your country, sheep is made the great object, even in improved territories: Now this appears to me, to be an erroneous policy; I have not yet found out the means, nor do I think it possible, to make the utmost value of improved land, by feeding it with sheep; and from all the experience, which I have been able to gain, the advantages, which arise from the culture of lands, improved in arable crops, much exceed any thing, that sheep can yield, even
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if all the profits of the manufacture are added: this has made me wonder very much at the conduct of England, in giving such exclusive favour to every thing, concerning that animal. I replied, that in England, no exclusive favour was given to sheep, as every man was left at liberty to keep and feed, whatever stock best pleased him; but that the support of our growth of wool, was in the pasturage of waste countries, or, at least, of those, which were such, in comparison, with our best; that such countries, where great tracks in them were totally applied to feeding sheep, though the land was as applicable to producing grain, &c. as most others, was owing to the indolence, or want of spirit of the owners.

Returning home, the Count further discoursed as follows: The example of my own estate, said he, proves to me, that nothing is wanting to make a country populous, and consequently rich, but giving the people an object for their industry to work upon; the most idle will, of themselves, be converted to industry, if their industry is beneficial to them, and if they have no other dependance but on it. I know no people, naturally more indolent, than the common people in Denmark; but in the most populous

lous parts of Holland, they are not more active and industrious, than all the people on my estate; which change has been effected merely, by throwing them into the pursuit of gain, and letting them quietly enjoy it. The natural increase of mankind is prodigious, when marriages are no burthen, but children riches; and I am so strongly convinced of this truth, that I cannot help considering, with some degree of surprize, the conduct of several potentates, who seek to people their desarts by importations of foreigners, and, at the same time, continue to keep their peasants in an absolute state of slavery. Nothing can effectually people any country, but the natural increase of its own inhabitants, accelerated by such good and wholesome laws, and institutes, as secure their freedom and property, and take off every idea of children being burthensome.

Another reflection, which I have made from the progress and event of my own undertaking, is on the balance, if I may so express myself, of agriculture and commerce. My view, in establishing manufactures on my estate, and opening some degree of trade, was to give a subsistence to people, for whom I wished to form a market,

ket, for the products of my lands. The hands, employed in cultivating them, even in the highest perfection, to which husbandry is capable of being carried, cannot consume the product, the surplus must therefore be sold; but a regular market, at a good price, was not to be had, and the consequence of which is always an obstruction to all improvement; to remedy this, I saw clearly, that nothing would be effectual, but increasing the people, and giving the new hands other means of employment, than agriculture; because, if I employed them in raising food also, I should only be increasing the former evil; here therefore, I called in commerce to my aid, I established some fabrics, and raised a town, that provided no food, but was consequently to be fed by the surrounding country; this gave me the market, I wanted for the land products. Here now arises the question, should the manufactures and trade be pushed on to as great a height as possible, or should they be kept in the even proportion to the market wanted by the farmers? In other words, should the trade be made a principal object, or should it be kept entirely subservient to agriculture?

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This is a question, which involves in it the whole circle of all the politics, which have so long agitated the world. I am far enough from being able to give a definition of the direct line of propriety, but I will tell you, what is my idea of conduct, for my own little concerns, and you will be able to judge, whether it will be at all applicable to the conduct of nations. I was ever of opinion, that in all improvements of the sort, which I have undertaken, permanency is an object, that is never to be lost sight of, for ever such brilliant promises, if they are not evidently lasting; an improvement of land, of manufacture, of trade, deserves not the name, if it lasts, but for a season: hence it is, that the greatest immediate effect is not always the most inviting, if the permanency of success be not equal to it. My first motive of undertaking improvements, was to increase my revenue; and in reasoning upon the effect, we ought to suppose, I have never since had any other motive, though, in reality, the pleasure of beholding my rising success, in making so many people happy, has been, by degrees, a much stronger inducement; this, however, is to be thrown out of the question, and the principal aim of all the undertakings, supposed to be the
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gaining from my estate, as great, clear, and permanent revenue, as possible.

In this view of the case, I am inclined to believe, that trade and manufacture should be carried no further, than the benefit of land improvements require; that they may be made to bring in a great revenue, I have not a doubt; but I am equally clear, that they become very precarious, the moment you push them beyond their connection with agriculture; they are then open to the rivalry of other places and countries; they have no real foundation, depending upon the fictitious amount of sobriety and moderation, which are the essentials of industry; and at the same time, the quantity of wealth gained, is a sure means of introducing a degree of expence, commonly called luxury, which must inevitably destroy both. Pushing fabrics and commerce, as far as possible, is the sure way to become immensely rich; but my memory gives me no instance, in which, great wealth has not accelerated the ruin of every nation, in which it has been found. Another circumstance, tending to the same point, is, that manufactures, in their infancy, and the beginning of their progress, have always for their objects, works of real and lasting utility, works, which

which every where command a ready price ; but when they come to attain great splendor, they busy themselves more upon objects of luxury and elegance, the consequence of which is a precarious sale, and speedy competition.

I have not a doubt, but I could, by concentrating my attention to the fabrics, I have established, and increasing the trade of my port to a great degree, make in house-rents alone, and tolls, with a few other articles of profit, a very great revenue ; but as reason teaches me to look to the permanency of such a revenue, and as I am clear, it would not have that ample duration, which I covet, my present intention is to make both fabrics and trade, entirely subservient to my husbandry ; only with an intention, to apply that quantum of trade to the best purpose, by having enough, to freight my vessels in, as well as out, and out, as well as in, and to make every part, be assistant to every other part. With this view, when once every acre of my estate is fully improved, and a market provided for all its products, at a good price, not an high one, (because extremes are not permanent) I shall then stop the increase of the town, by raising no more buildings ; and also build no more

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ships, than sufficient to keep up the number, proper for that degree of trade, which the manufactures require. If I am content with that degree of success, I have no doubt, but it will be lasting ; because the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of my territory, will be, what I esteem, balanced and dependant on each other, exactly to the respective amount of each ; and as there will be no fabrics wrought, but what are of universal demand, and no commerce pushed on, but what the fabrics employ, and as all the people, in each of these branches, will be dependant, for their provisions and other necessaries, on the track of culture around them, and on no other ; hence, I think, all dangerous excess is guarded against, and a regular industry will maintain itself, without being hurt, by the acquisition of great riches.

I have not a doubt of this being the most profitable conduct, relative to my own estate, and must own myself, equally clear in its being the desirable balance, even for a whole kingdom ; and the benefit of it is so great, that I can conceive but one cause, of its not being attended to, by those nations, who have made any progress in trade. They are eager to keep all their
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money at home, gold and silver stuffs are worn at court: why, says the manufacturing minister, should not your Majesty's subjects make these stuffs, if they wear them, and keep the money at home, which we have paid to foreigners for them? Such is the origin of the establishment of such manufactures; but surely ministers should reflect, that there are few luxurious countries in the world, and none in Europe, wherein all things used, can be made at home, and the exportation of money consequently stopped: it is a chimerical idea, and searching for a phantom here. Look into the richest countries in the East Indies; are they flourishing, in proportion to their wealth? Is it not almost in the inverse proportion? Why therefore seek for a degree of riches, which cannot be attained, but, if once gained, would be ruinous? Had I the honour of being a minister of state, therefore, I would recommend to my master, to encourage none, but manufacturers, which work upon objects of the first utility, and make them subservient to the highest improvement of the lands, of which they were capable of attaining. I should not then leave a posterity, to fall into that unhappy declension, which all nations, states,

and cities experience, who drive their manufactures and trade to the utmost bounds.

Upon this reasoning of the Count's, which I thought, in general, as conclusive as possible, I made only one objection. I replied, that there seemed to be one circumstance, of which he did not appear to be guarded against, and that was, the impossibility of rendering any thing permanent; that all human affairs were exposed to vicissitudes, that nothing could be permanent, not agriculture, any more than manufactures or commerce, and therefore, if he founded his argument upon the permanency alone, of his establishments, it might not prove so strongly against a great trade. To this the Count returned as follows :

The want of stability, of which you complain, has in all the instances at present in my memory, been owing to the excess I spoke of. The ruin of all the great empires, kingdoms, states, and particular cities, which have been famous in the world, has been entirely owing to that excess of luxury, which ever springs from the acquisition of vast wealth. That there is such a thing as permanency, is surely evident, from those nations, being now in being, who are the lineal descendants of the people,

people, who overturned the Roman empire; and although successive revolutions happened, in the various kingdoms they formed, yet the nations, from which they sprung, depending entirely on agriculture, or other products of the earth, have ever continued permanent on the same ground; witness your own neighbours, the highland Scots and the Welch; also the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes; from whence, I think, it is extremely evident, that this want of stability is totally owing to the dependance on trade, manufactures, and the wealth, which they procure. Another instance, to prove that agriculture, is a very different predicament from fabrics and commerce, is, that of Flanders, which I take to be the best cultivated country in Europe; no part of the world has seen more numerous revolutions, or become more often the seat of incessant wars, yet cultivation is, at this day, in very high perfection; and this, in a good measure, I take to be owing to manufactures and commerce having maintained only a moderate footing there, about sufficient, to give the peasant a quick and good market for all his products.

But it is time, Sir, said he, to have done with national interests, which to the most

ingenious and penetrating persons, are very difficult to be understood, and yet more difficult, to reduce to practical rules, I shall therefore again return to myself. There is one circumstance to be noted, which is the levying the royal revenue. The King has the tenth of all land products, and this, in many parts of the kingdom, is gathered in kind, and sold by his superintendants; but landlords may compound, though the composition is generally high. I would not have the real tenth, taken from my peasants on any consideration whatever, and therefore pay a pretty high composition for the part of my estate in old culture; as to all the rest of it, by a late edict, which deserves to be written in letters of gold, all new improvements are exempted from all taxes, for the life of those, who effect them; which is a measure, that I am amazed, does not instigate more of the nobility to improve their waste tracks. I have remarked, in travelling through the kingdom, that the peasants, in those parts, where taxes are collected in kind, through a mistaken avarice in their landlords, are the most poor and miserable in the nation, and the least inclinable to make any efforts of improvement. But, however, I must remark another circumstance,

cumstance, which is a mortal enemy to all cultivation of waste tracks, which is the rage, our nobility have for hunting; their wild uncultivated estates are fitter for this diversion, than if the whole was covered with corn and grass; and this, I believe, keeps many of them from any such thoughts; and even those, who do small matters in husbandry, will allow of no fences, being made to interrupt their hunting; no wonder, therefore, that they continue waste. Thank heaven, our laws confine every man to his own land, unless he has licence from his neighbours, which is common to give; but I have never had it from others, and have always refused it; the ravages, committed by hunting, in this country, much exceed any thing, you have any conception of in England. Had I followed this diversion myself, or allowed it to others upon my land, all my wished for improvements would have been infinitely retarded, and always subject to unbounded mischiefs. I am lucky, in having no forest of the King's, contiguous to me; though, if I had, I should have surrounded all my cultivated tracks, with fences impenetrable to the deer and boars; but in general, no care is taken to keep them

out of the farms, and the mischief they do, is prodigious.

I find from experience, that all these attentions are necessary to the encouragement of agriculture; and nothing, but such an encouragement, can carry the estates of individuals to that degree of improvement, which will prove really advantageous to their fortunes: nor should I have omitted to have shewn you a farm on my estate, which is pregnant with another lesson of some consequence: it is a track of land, managed by a younger brother of mine, who pays me rent for it, on the principal part of which, I have built him such conveniencies, as he most wants. It was a proposition of his own; he was bred to the army, and served some years, but meeting with some disappointments in promotion, he obtained leave to sell out, and retiring in disgust to my castle, he lived a year with me in idleness; but having a constant picture of an active husbandry before his eyes, it by degrees attracted his attention, and he made the proposal himself to me, saying, that he should like to try a little farm, to see if practice would give him a degree of knowledge in it, and, at the same time, increase his inclination for it. I was
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pleased with the thought, and immediately told him, that he should have the choice of all my farms : but he said, he should like best a piece, taken out of the forests, in a remote spot, where he should be by himself ; and I accordingly built him a convenient house, upon a plan of his own, with the offices he desired, and inclosed for him several fields, which he has increased since, and which he cultivates and manages in a whimsical manner, after his own fancy. His house is some miles out of the roads, where I carried you, or I should have shewn you his farm ; but he is, at present, in Flanders, where he is gone to execute a commission for me.

This instance has furnished me with many reflections. In most of the European monarchies, the profession of arms has been thought the only business, worthy the attention of a young nobleman ; and this has been carried to so great a pitch, that all such, who do not inherit the family estates, and, indeed, most that do, enter into the military life ; the consequence of this is, that the culture of the earth is abandoned to the attention, and the weak efforts of a poor, exhausted, and oppressed race of peasants. What can be expected from such cultivators,
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but a husbandry, that scarcely ever rises above mediocrity? Would our young nobility apply to agriculture, they surely would render better service to their country, and would find the life as agreeable, as that of arms; for if we examine the best services in Europe, we shall find, that the pay is utterly incompetent to the expensive life, they are thrown into; and this is so generally and to so great a degree the case, that three fourths of all the officers in Europe are but a remove from beggars. Unlooked for promotions, make, upon the whole, very poor amends for such a regular life of poverty. But in the culture of the earth, the young nobility and gentry would find, if they gave an active attention to it, far better revenues, with much less expensive life, than any service can confer; and, at the same time, the profession has nothing dishonourable in it, and every exertion made, would tend to promote, in the highest degree, the interests of their country; for it must certainly be of great advantage to any calling or profession, to throw, into the practice of it, the people of the first rank, greatest fortune, and best education in the state, instead of leaving it totally to the very lowest and poorest ranks. It would be amazing, if the latter made
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any improvements in the course of centuries, and it would be equally surprising, if the other did not.

I spent four days most agreeably with the Count, in being shewn wonders of his own creation, and listening to such philosophical discourses, as these. I thought his sentiments so peculiarly just, and his maxims, drawn so judiciously from experience, that I failed not, when retired to my apartment, to throw upon paper the conversations of the day; and I must be allowed to remark, that I think, they would have done honour to the brightest genius of England, France, or Italy, much more are they to be commended, when found among the wastes and bogs of Denmark. The Count, hearing from me the route I was to go, gave me letters of recommendation to the Count de Smikelane, and the Baron Rosenberg, both at Copenhagen; adding, at the same time, that they were men of understanding and reflection, and would give me some information on the present state of Denmark, more valuable, than I should gain from a minister. He also gave me a letter to M. de Verspot, at his castle in the mountains of Middlepade, Sweden; a worthy patriot, he said, who would shew me many improvements,

ments, more worthy of my attention, than his own; but I replied to the impossibility of that. Then taking my leave of the Count, and particularly requesting his company in Northamptonshire, in case he ever came to England again, I set forward once more towards Hodsedburg, the second of September.

I got to that place to dinner, and alighting at a very indifferent inn, I had reason enough to regret, leaving the hospitable table of the Count de Roncellen: The mention of which, however, reminds me to observe one thing, which is, that nobleman's fortune is now, I apprehend, as considerable, as the greatest estates in England, and yet his way of living in the castle, is not superior to that of an English gentleman with an estate of two or three thousand pounds a year. His table was always well spread with plenty of every thing, that was in season, but then his own estate produces every thing, but sugar, spices, and wine; he has river and sea fish in great perfection; his forest yields him venison and game, and other parts of his land, plenty of wild fowl; all which, with the cultivated products, afford ample materials for a regular table. In his wines, he is by no means expensive, and his dress, comparatively

comparatively speaking, costs him nothing. All his revenue therefore, which increases much every year, is expended, as fast as it comes in, in the noble undertakings, of which I have given an account. Such an expenditure does as much benefit to the state, as honour to himself, and is a way of laying out a great income, that can never be sufficiently praised.

Perhaps also, it is as full of enjoyment, as any other disposition of it can be: Let us suppose, an English nobleman of thirty or forty thousand pounds a year, living in the usual course of dissipation, electioneering, and gaming, (which are the three channels, that usually waste the greatest estates,) and you will ever see in them a species of remorse and disgust at the cramp situation, which successive mortgages bring on; but if the income is not exceeded, the expenditure of it gives but a momentary pleasure, and never a lasting satisfaction, besides, being throughout life continually under the regret of incessant disappointments. Such a life must surely be many degrees, removed from an happy or a chearful one; but, on the contrary, let us figure to ourselves, a nobleman, spending such an income, the year round, upon the spot, that yields it him; in building,

ing, planting, improving wastes, making roads, cutting canals, fixing manufactures, opening harbours, attracting commerce, in a word, executing such noble works, as the Count de Roncellen has employed so much of his time in. Is it possible to doubt of such an employment of a great fortune, being infinitely superior, in self satisfaction and enjoyment, to the other disposition of it: There is scarcely any other, but what, at least threatens a wasting and decline of it. This alone insures an increase; and adding every day to a man's wealth, at the same time, that every shilling he makes, is more beneficial to the community, than to himself. It would be surprizing, if every nobleman thus laid out his fortune; but sure, it is equally surprizing, that out of so many great estates in every kingdom, the examples of it should be so very rare. We must attribute it to the great power of a general luxury, which is now spread through all the kingdoms of Europe; which carries every thing and every body to the capital of each country; it is the desertion of the country, which occasions this universal expence in vanity, dissipation, and gaming. It is the general herding together in great cities, and fixing all eyes on the Court, and the prince, that brings all
landlords

landlords of great estates among the poorest people in a kingdom, or, at least, the most needy; for they every day attempt to move in a vortex, where the greatest estates cannot last long. Throughout Europe, at least, through all the countries, I have been in, this is generally the case. Estates in the provinces are left to the management of stewards and agents, who make an equal property of the landlord and his tenants, fleecing both unmercifully. While things are in such a train, it is not at all to be wondered at, that improvements in agriculture are rare.

Hodsfedburg, is a little town, well situated on a pretty river, upon which I observed some small craft, a sign, that the inhabitants carry on a trade; I had good fish here. The country is tolerably well cultivated, except the marshes, which are all in the state of nature, having never been attempted to be drained. They cultivate many of the turnips here with cabbage leaves; but none of the crops, nor the appearance of the culture, were any thing comparable to my friend the Count's. Leaving this place, I reached Lemwijg by night, the country continuing pretty good. That town is oddly situated on a small bay
within

within ten miles of the sea, and is without any trade or shipping, but small fishing-craft; the reason is, that it has no communication with the German ocean; the bay, on which it stands, being in the great lake, which extends quite across Jutland, and falls into the Baltick, if I may so call the gulf, which leads to the Sound. There is nothing worthy of observation in the town. I had the misfortune of a dirty, disagreeable inn, where I found my own bed, a comfort; I should have been in a bad plight, had I been without it.

The third of September was fully employed in reaching Nikiobing, at the distance of about four and twenty miles; but I was much detained by two ferries, the watermen of which were so awkward, and their boats so small, that I was very near losing a horse, and breaking my chaise in pieces. Nikiobing is situated on an island in the Lake, which they call the gulph of Limford. It is chiefly applied to pasturage; I saw scarcely any corn or stubbles. The town is pretty large, but seems very poor. I met again with very bad accommodation, and the people of the inn were not at all cleanly. On the fourth, I reached Aalburg, which is on the gulf of Limford, and situated where

where it is contracted to the size of a fine river. This voyage is near forty miles, but a fine brisk wind carried us along at a great rate; they made me pay five ducats for the sloop. It is a most pleasant and romantic voyage, the gulf, running through a variety of country, some cultivated, but most waste. There are many hills, mountains, forests, and heaths, with several islands in the gulf, which are inhabited by fishermen; and the spots, being woody, make a very agreeable appearance. One or two of these islands are very beautiful.

Aalborg is the see of a bishop, and a place of some trade, and there are also a few fabricks here of woollen goods, fixed at the King's expence; but they do not seem to be in any flourishing situation, chiefly from want of support and attention to the conduct of them. The introduction of any thing of this sort is of but little consequence, unless there is a standing attention to their increase and welfare.

Leaving Aalborg, I set out on the fifth for Wyburg, which I reached by night, the distance is thirty miles; it was a hard day's work for the extreme badness of the roads, which run, most of the way, through barren, mountainous tracks, and boundless moors

and forests; a dismal dreary track, which wants a Count de Roncellen for its possessor; such a man would presently make it carry a very different countenance. These wastes are all well watered with streams, and the soil is, in general, very good, much of it deep and free from stones, though some tracks are full of them, and rocky, but none, that might not be applied to many very useful purposes, were they in the hands of active, and wealthy industry. Wyburg is the see of a bishop, and also the residence of a provincial court of justice; but it is, nevertheless, a very inconsiderable place.

In the morning of the sixth, I took the road for Randers; the distance is fourteen miles, and the road being tolerable, I got there to breakfast; the road runs by the side of a pretty river, most of the way, upon the banks of which, are some cultivated meadows, and also some arable lands in culture. All this country is thinly scattered with little straggling villages, the residence of the peasants; but from Aalborg hither, which is near fifty miles, I have seen but two gentlemens country seats, and those make no great figure. I dined at Arhus, a place of some trade, being a sea port, about twelve miles from Randers, after which, I had thirteen

teen more to Horsens, where I got to supper. This is also a sea port, and here I met with very civil people at the inn, and cleanly, who gave me a dish of excellent fish for my supper, and a bottle of as good claret, as I remember to have drank, which surprized me much. The King has great demesns in the country, I had passed, and upon which, has been planted some colonies of poor Germans ; they had lands lett them upon lease, which they cultivate better, than their neighbours the Danes ; but they do not seem to be good husbandmen, as they fix only upon the dry lands, whereas the marshes drained, would prove much the richer of the two. Though this attention had been given to peopling these wastes, yet I found, very little care had since been taken to increase the numbers, or to give such encouragement to them, as to enable them to execute any thing considerable in improvements.

Leaving Horsens, I breakfasted on the seventh at Weile, which, though a small place, is pretty well built. The streets are strait and tolerably paved, and the houses well built of brick. It has a commodious harbour, on a bay, which falls into the Baltic, by means of which, it carries on a

pretty good trade. But I may remark, that the inhabitants of all these little port towns seem much to want encouragement in their trade; they would all flourish very tolerably, if they had a cultivated country, with some manufactures behind them. Many favourable circumstances must unite in a port, to create a trade, where the export consists of nothing, but a scanty product of mere natural commodities; trade consists of, and depends upon, exportation reciprocal to the importation; but the general misfortune, in the commerce of such little ports, is a failure of the exportation part; all of them, as far as the demand reaches, are free enough at importing. This is a sure trade to the merchant, as most branches are, in which gold and silver are the commodities exported for the products and manufactures of other countries. Indeed, the Danish ports have the general misfortune of being deficient in inland navigation, having nothing to depend upon, but the mere circulation of the town, which is in general very confined. Trade depends much on manufactures, and not a little on a flourishing agriculture. Neither of these are common in Denmark; we are not therefore to wonder, that the general commerce of the kingdom is confined.

From

From Weile I reached Kolding by dinner; the distance is twelve miles. This is a very pretty town, beautifully situated; it contains some trade, and a royal palace; but it has nothing in it, that is worthy of a traveller's notice, though the inhabitants make a great matter of it, as if it was the Versailles of the North. The King has some considerable demesns around this town, and raises a revenue by a toll upon all cattle, which pass the bridge, and which amounts to a considerable sum; for most, that are driven from Jutland for the Dutch drovers, which are very numerous, pay here half a dollar a head. The country, from Horsens to Weile, is tolerably well cultivated. The peasants were carrying in part of their harvests, as I passed, and I remarked, that they did not stow their corn in barns, but built it on stacks. This is not common in Denmark, which made me enquire into their motives for it; they told me, that the corn, which they stack, proved much superior in quality, to that which they laid up in barns, it drying so much better. I had apprehended, that it was through the landlord's being sparing in the expence of their buildings, but this was a reason, of which I was not at all aware, but its justness, I leave to the

judgment of my readers. They assured me, that not only the grain, but also the straw, was much more valuable out of a stack, than out of a barn.

From Kolding, I got to Hadershelbe by night, which was fourteen miles, through a country, much superior in cultivation to any, I had lately passed; most of their waste tracks had been of late improved, and many acres, that not many years since, were all covered with forests, are now in a state of profit for their owners. This has been totally owing to an emancipation of the peasants. It was found, that the earth would never be well cultivated by mere slaves, and acting consistently with this just idea, has had the desired effect.

The eighth, I set out in the morning for Ferstede, a place on the Baltic, on the Little Belt, within sight of the Isle of Funen; the distance about eleven miles, through a country, which continues all well cultivated; part of it belongs to the King, and part to a nobleman, who seems to have a notion of good husbandry, from the appearance of the inclosures, near his house. At Osby, near the sea, I remarked, the peasants were manuring a large field, with something, that looked like a reddish marl; but on enquiry,
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I found, it was a mixture of sea-weed, shore-mud, and sand, which they had laid in very great heaps, and were now carting it into a fallow for wheat. They informed me, that the improvement, brought by this sort of manure, was very great and lasting; that they reaped crops more abundant for it, as five to three after several years, but at first doubly good. They were not however executing this for themselves, but their Lord, who resides in the neighbourhood.

C H A P. V.

Description of the Islands of Funen and Zealand—Copenhagen—Present State of Denmark—Trade—Manufactures—Agriculture—Population—Revenues—General Prosperity—Manners.

HAVING breakfasted at Fersted, and ordered the float, as they call it, to be ready to carry us over, I left it, and was ferried safely to Assens, in the Isle of Funen, by one o'clock, which is a little port town of some trade. Having made a dinner on fish, I reached Odensee, in the center of the island, at the distance of nineteen miles, by night. The country is much superior to any part of Denmark, I had yet seen, all I viewed, was as well cultivated, as most of the counties of England; some, inclosed with low neatly kept hedges, and what is open, is all covered with crops; the stubbles of this year's corn, and the crops, yet in the field, shewed, that the land produced well. They were very busy, the whole way, in sowing

ing wheat ; and I observed, that it was all on ploughed ground, and not on clover stubble ; and all the wheat land was manuring. Funen has no mountains or rocks, but consists of gentle hills and declivities, with fine spreading vales ; some of the higher grounds are prettily topped with woods, and there being many rivulets, the whole country is beautiful, and resembles many agreeable tracks in England. The peasants here are in many parts free, but in others, they continue in a state of villainage ; and it is very easy to see, by the different appearance of the lands, the bad effects of keeping them so. There is also plenty of good pastures and meadows in this country, and numerous herds of black cattle and hogs ; and the horses, I think, have a better appearance than elsewhere. I observed many colts, marked, which I found, on enquiry, were for the King, who demands a certain number, every year, at a fixed price ; and these are trained for the cavalry.

Early on the 9th, I went to Nuborg, being the port, at which you take shipping to cross the Great Belt into Zealand. It contains a good port, and has a little trade ; it once was very strong, but now has nothing, but the ruins of its old fortifications and castle.

castle. From delays, and the want of a good wind, it was late in the afternoon, before we reached the coast of Zealand, and I could get no further, than Slagel that night, which is a little insignificant town, where I met with very bad accommodation of all sorts.

On the morning of the 10th, I set out for Roskild, on the way to Copenhagen, the distance of twenty two miles. This country is nearly equal to Funen; it is all well spread with cultivation, and rising and falling in pretty hills and dales, with woods and meadows, some of which have lately been marshes, but drained; and their husbandry seems to be very good. In the great church here, I was shewn the monuments of many Kings of Denmark; this being their burying place: here is one of Harold VI. King of Denmark, England, and Norway, who was the founder of this church; there is also one in black marble, of the famous Queen Margaret. They likewise show a great whetstone here, which, they say, was sent to this Queen by Albert King of Sweden, in derision, intimating thereby, that women should sharp their needles, instead of aiming at war; but the wit, which is very poor, was better answered

swered by her, that she should apply it to the edges of her soldiers swords; and she was as good as her word; she fought him in a pitched battle, and gave him an entire overthrow, and made him prisoner; in which situation, she kept him seven years, and then did not release him, but under very hard terms.

From Roskild, I reached Copenhagen by dinner, the distance fourteen miles, through one of the finest parts of Denmark; an extremely agreeable and well cultivated country, in which all the peasants carry a much more chearful countenance, than any where else I have seen, except on my friend Count Roncellen's territory; this, and the goodness of the culture, with the general appearance of the country, is owing to the neighbourhood of the city, which acts upon the Count's principles, as a market for them to bring all their commodities to, and thereby encourages them to that activity, which is seen more here, than in other places.

I fixed my quarters at the King of England inn, where I found as good entertainment, as in most of the cities in Europe. Copenhagen is a fine place, and the strongest town belonging to the King. It is situated in a low marsh; surrounded by the
country

country, I have just described; this makes it by nature strong, and the numerous works added to it, in the modern stile of fortification, increase the strength greatly. The most striking object, is the harbour and the naval arsenal; it is capacious enough to hold five hundred men of war, and yet only one ship can come in at a time; the entrance, small as it is, is defended by several batteries of great guns; and there are several platforms near it, with three forts. There are no tides in the Baltick, but the depth of water in the harbour, renders it perfectly secure for the greatest ships, so that it is justly reckoned one of the best havens in the world. The King's fleet (for this is the principal port for his men of war, and the only one for great ships) lies regularly arranged between booms, and against them magazines, with the name of each ship on the door of the store rooms, belonging to her; and every thing is kept in the compleatest order. The admiralty is on the haven, which contains, besides these magazines, numerous others; the arsenal is very well furnished with cannon, and other military stores; and adjoining to these buildings, is a citadel, which commands the harbour.

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The King's palace is a fine building, very spacious, and some of the apartments magnificent, but I had heard it represented in such a pompous manner, that I was much disappointed. The court is as brilliant, as any I have seen; it is a military one, for the number of officers is great; the very garrison of Copenhagen alone amounts to near ten thousand men, besides the King's guards, which are a very fine, shewy, and well disciplined set of men. The standing forces of the kingdom are about forty thousand men, fourteen thousand of which are cavalry, and the rest infantry; a considerable number of these are militia, but then the militia of this country is as regularly, and as well disciplined, as the regular troops; and for about two months in the year, they are embodied, and in actual discipline; a part of which time, they form the garrison of Copenhagen, and are immediately under the eye of the King. This system makes them as good troops, as any others in the service; and by allowing them to follow their respective trades, the kingdom does not receive quite so much mischief, as if they were in arms all the year round.

The

The troops of Denmark, have a very good character for bravery and obedience, the two great essentials in a soldier; but the number kept up is much greater, than it ought to be, since Denmark furnishes nine tenths of them, Norway supplying only seamen; and their rocky, boisterous coast forms them so bold and hardy, that none are accounted better. None of the dominions, except partial districts, are well peopled; and such a numerous body of troops, many of whom are taken from their own peasants, is doing a great mischief to agriculture. Indeed, the despotism of the monarchy is so great, that many of the regiments are filled with foreigners, particularly Germans and Poles; and there are great numbers of foreign officers in all the corps; this is to keep the nation in the more severe obedience, a precaution, that does not seem very necessary, for since the unaccountable revolution, which threw the liberties of the people into the hands of the crown, there has scarcely been the shadow of a revolt; the Princes, that have sat upon the throne of Denmark, have been, since that revolution, remarkable for their abilities, and for pursuing the real interests of the country, as well as despots can do it;

it; which has probably been attended with this great effect, in keeping the nobles from all thoughts of throwing off the yoke.

It has been common, in many historians and political writers, to speak of the government of Denmark, as an absolute monarchy, founded on the right and justice of a free gift, but nothing can be more preposterous: indeed, there is something so repugnant to the common sense, and the rights of humanity in a despotic government, that nothing can be more contradictory to truth, than a pretence to fix it upon such foundations. The account of the transaction, as given us, by the best authors, sets forth, that the commons, disgusted with the tyrannical behaviour of the nobles, went in a pet to the palace, and made an offer of their lives, liberties, and properties to the King, without ever asking the concurrence of the third estate; the nobles, which was the principal of the three, were utterly against the measure, as the most unheard of monster in the world; and though they agreed in it at last, yet every writer is sufficiently clear, that it was by force, they came into the agreement, and not till the gates of Copenhagen were shut and guarded, and troops posted all over the town.

town. This was the free gift, so much boasted of by some of the slavish historians of this country. It is extremely evident; from the face of the transaction, that the final and complete agreement, which gave an appearance of validity to the act, was forced, and consequently null and void; but when once arbitrary power is erected, however unjustly, who is to overturn it? who is to oppose it? who is to shew the rottenness of the pretences, on which, the right to it is founded? None but some bold, desperate, and enthusiastic lovers of liberty, who, rising from the slavish condition of their brethren, dare to draw the sword of liberty, by despots, mis-called that of rebellion. The chance of such men being found, and of circumstances, which may give them success, is too great to be looked for. But where is the right to that despotism, which the Kings of Denmark have assumed? Not in the free gift of the States, I think, is very clear; but even supposing, the nobles had agreed in the measure, did it from thence follow, that the States of the day, have an unlimited power to make slaves of all their posterity? I am very sensible, that there are more universities than one, who would very readily give a decision in the affirmative;

affirmative; but for the honour of humanity, I hope there are numerous bodies of men, who would disdain the reasoning; but the records of the originals of all governments tell us very plainly, that every country had originally freedom; but in every kind of government, there was, at the origin of it, a necessity of granting a certain degree of power to rulers; and afterwards chicanery, treachery, bribery, force, and a thousand efforts were successively made use of by them, to enlarge the power, which was originally granted and entrusted to them, for the good of the community, until by a succession of frauds, a most limited monarchy became a despotism; such is the turn of human affairs in general, that mischiefs will, and do abound in every constitution; but the greatest of all others, is that of such changes in a government, as we have just been speaking of; but why should men give the sanction of right, to what has not a pretence of demanding it? Why should they not submit to the monster of despotic authority, without reasoning, like slaves, upon the right and property of our being so? All the world must know, that where these governments subsist, they subsist by force, and nothing, but force, can

keep them from being overturned by the united efforts of all the people, except a few, who are kept in pay by the Sovereign : the number of standing forces, supported by all absolute monarch, shews plainly, wherein they think their security lies. But to return :

At Copenhagen are several new manufactories, called Royal ones, from being established at the King's expence ; the chief of these, are the woollen ones ; here are more than four hundred looms for weaving most sorts of cloths, from the finest, for the wear of the King himself and his Court, to coarser sorts for cloathing the army. There are a great number of hands employed in these, and some late measures have been taken to increase them, and with such success, that several persons, I conversed with, assured me, if they went on with as good a progress in future, as they have done hitherto, they would not only cloath all the army, but completely supply the whole demand of Copenhagen, and also make all, that was wanted to export to the East-Indies, in their India ships ; but I must own, I doubt the truth of this intelligence, but whatever degree of accuracy there may be in it, still I must allow, that

that these establishments are very princely, and arising from a real and commendable attention to the interests of the kingdom.

Having viewed whatever was worthy of attention in the city of Copenhagen, I waited upon the Count de Smikelane, and the Baron de Rosenberg, with the letter, with which my good friend the Count de Roncellon had favoured me. Accidentally, I met with them both at once, for the Baron was at the former nobleman's when I waited on him: upon reading the letters, they received me with the utmost politeness, and assured me, that they should esteem themselves very happy in giving me, whatever information I desired, that was in their power, relative to the present state of Denmark. The Count desired me to dine with him, and the Baron said, he would be of the party: I accepted the invitation readily, and the conversation, I had with these noblemen, proved very instructive to me.

I found, the Count lived in a very magnificent manner; he eat on a very superb service of plate, and the number of his gentlemen and attendants, shewed, that he made an unusual figure. This is not the plan of life, that M. de Roncellon delights in, but this nobleman is, nevertheless, a very worthy

and a very sensible man, but without that enthusiastical love of improvements, which has led the Count de Roncellon to fix his residence entirely in the country. But although this nobleman had not, thus sacrificed at the shrine of utility, he allowed full honour to his friend, who had, and spoke of him in the warmest terms of friendship and approbation. In discoursing on his wny of life, the Baron de Rosenberg said, I readily acknowledge, that M. de Roncellon deserves all, that both of you can say in his favour, but I think, there is an essential fault in his system; his plans are all admirably laid, and executed with a spirit, that commands success, and so they will be, as long as he lives; had he ten lives, all would be employed and exhausted in an eternal round of business, but when is the end to be answered? When is he to enjoy himself? When is he to say, the work is done, and, with Pyrrhus, we will now set down at our ease and be happy?

I did not think this, by any means, a just idea of the Count and his great exertions; and therefore replied, that it appeared to me a mistake, in thinking, that the Count ever fixed his happiness in the conclusion or completion of his undertaking; but, on the
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the contrary, in the carrying them on: the greatest enjoyment, he can possess, is to view daily the progress, he makes; to attend to the circumstances, as they arise, and from an increase of income, regularly coming in, to possess a power of as regularly increasing all his works. In a word, his happiness lies in the work itself, and not in the success of it; and I have no doubt, but if his whole estate was fully cultivated, his town full of manufactures, and his port of commerce, that he would then buy more waste land, for the satisfaction of employing his money in the way, which most conduces to his happiness.

The Count de Smikelane acknowledged, that this was the proper light to view his friend in; but the Baron did not seem to think, that much happiness could be enjoyed so very obscurely. During the course of the conversation, I made enquiries into the state of the Danish trade and manufactures, and into the policy, respecting them of late years. The Count, replying to me, said, that their government had, for many years, given great attention to every thing, that seemed promising in favour of those objects; that the means chiefly taken, were to lower, and, in some instances, totally

take off the duties upon exportation, which, in several material articles, had been so high, as much to cramp the industry of the people. Another means taken, added he, has been to encourage the building of ships, and the transport of all commodities on Danish bottoms; in this, there has been some progress made in several towns of Denmark, and a few, in Norway; for the government has a list of every ship, belonging to the King's dominions, and regular advice of every one, that is built or broken up. This intelligence, which is had without any expence, is of the utmost importance, as the ministry see at once the variations in the shipping; if they increase at one place remarkably, they enquire, and make themselves masters of the reason, that the same cause may be rendered alike active in other places. If they decrease, the same knowledge is gained, and by discovering the evil, the moment, it is in being, are able to provide a remedy; when they know, why the shipping decreases, they can properly apply their encouragement, so as to make it the most effectual. The utility of this measure, has best manifested itself in the effects; for I have been assured on very good authority, that in the last twelve years, there has been an increase of above thirty
sail

fail of ships, and at the same time, that the general burthen of all is also much higher. This is an extreme good sign, for nothing marks so well the state of commerce, as the increase or decrease of national shipping; no nations have ever made any figure in trade, without great quantities of shipping; the thing, we know, is possible, but still, all the facts, that history gives us, are against it: that nation, that is carrier to all the rest, will presently be master of the trade of all the rest. He went on:

Denmark, it is true, possesses very few commodities, to send out to our neighbours; Norway, in this respect, however, is rich, her timber is an inexhaustible store, for exporting in her own ships; but this is not the only object, for the Danish ministry have justly observed, that the trade of no nation is in proportion to its products. Your commerce in England is infinitely beyond, what your products would, originally seem to entitle you to; and what are the products of Holland; yet the trade of the Dutch has been by far the greatest in the world. We think, in general, in the North, that the poor nations are to draw the trade to themselves from their rich neighbours, and not upon very bad grounds; for the great

wealth of those countries, which have long been in possession of much commerce, renders every thing in it so dear, that its manufactures cannot find a sale any where, but at home, the consequence of which is, that their trade, by degrees, migrates to much poorer countries. Upon these foundations it is, I apprehend, that our Danish politicians look for a greater commerce, than the mere line of our products, at first sight, entitles them to.

I replied, that I thought the efforts made, of late years, in the northern kingdoms, in favour of commerce, deserved the acknowledgment of all their true patriots; but that, if he would permit me, I would give him my reasons, why Denmark could not expect the same success in trade, that the English and Dutch have had. The Count answered, that he should be happy in hearing my opinion. I then observed, that they had three very material circumstances, much against them; government, climate, and a want of products; I will mention the last, first, as you have just touched upon it. The trade of England is, I believe, exactly regulated by her products, which are more considerable and fortunate for commerce than those of any other countries. The colonies

lonies in America are, in this light, the same, as if a part of our countries; and if you consider the immensity of their product, added to that, which results from our East India trade, our Newfoundland fishery, and the products of our land, which in corn, wool, leather, metals, &c. are very great, you will find the amount to be a very noble and considerable foundation, whereon to construct the great edifice of British commerce. Then if we turn to Holland, we shall not find that nation to be wanting in products; for what are we to esteem their immense East-India trade, and possession of some of the richest countries in the known world, and the monopoly of spices? Also their herring and whale fisheries, which they carry on to so great an amount? These are articles, with some others, which might be named, that shew plainly the Hollanders, though they have not such materials as England, have yet something very solid, whereon they build their trade. The same conclusions will, I apprehend, be drawn, look to whatever nation, you please. France comes next in the commercial world, a kingdom, whose trade is minutely dependent on her products.

Now,

Now, Sir, the products of Denmark will not allow of such great commerce as those, which I have mentioned. It is not of consequence to be minute, as you admitted a want of products. The next reason, against your possessing a great commerce, is the climate. None of the finer manufactures can be carried on, so as to execute them in the brilliancy, now requisite, in very cold countries; hard frosts interrupt the workmen even in England, what therefore must they do in Denmark? There is no fact clearer than this. But the greatest obstacle remains to be spoken of, which is the government; you want to create a commerce, without materials to construct; and supposing the thing possible, should you think it so in an absolute monarchy? Such an active spirit of industry and trade, as a people must possess, who carry on such a commerce, could not exist, but in a government of perfect freedom and equality. This is so undoubtedly true, that we feel the effects in England, even of a limited monarchy. Wherever you have a King, you will have a court, and strong distinctions in the ranks of society; a nobility, with privileges, which set them above the rest of the subjects. Such possessors of land, enjoying greater privileges, and meeting
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with more respect, than the mere merchant and manufacturer, is an obstacle to trade and commerce. These are circumstances, that we feel in our trade. In England, we scarce ever see a merchant, or manufacturer, raise an hundred thousand pounds, but he longs to be in the most respectable class; he purchases land, and his counting-house is presently filled with a cousin, or a nephew. This keeps immense sums of money out of trade. Now in Holland, a man never leaves off trade, but the father keeps in it, as long as he lives, and his son succeeds him in it. But go into France, an absolute monarchy, and you there find, that men enter into commerce, not with a view to make very great fortunes, but to gain enough to purchase some estate, that shall take them out of a class of people, much despised, and rank them among the noblesse; while a manufacturer or trader continues among the bourgeois, he is generally regarded by the whole body of the noblesse with some degree of contempt. How then can commerce and manufactures flourish? If you say, they have flourished, I reply, the product are so great in that kingdom, that they flourish in spite of obstacles; and that all the rest was the effect of regulations and Colbert's encouragement;

ment; which were admirable for promoting and increasing their commerce; but his creations were much fewer, than generally supposed. Nor is it foreign to the argument, to observe the hard fate of the French manufactures and commerce. In 1683, they were advanced to a great height, and on the increase; in 1714, all were in one general ruin. After this, a wise conduct, and a long peace, re-established by degrees, many of them; so that in 1740, the fabrics and commerce of France were flourishing. In 1749, all were once more in ruin, and from a successful war, some of them again revived and carried an outside shew of success in 1754; but a new war breaks out, and in 1763 all were again involved in a worse state than ever. They have not again revived; and let me remark, that every blow, which that kingdom has received, hath done it a lasting damage, for although it has soon shewn a kind of renovation, yet it has ever been but a partial one. Since the death of Lewis XIV. they have never possessed either the trade or fabrics, they did in his reign; and every successive war did them a degree of mischief, which has never been repaired. This has not been the case in free kingdoms and states; evils, in such countries, want nothing

thing but patience to remedy themselves. England has been highly flourishing for a century and a half, and shews not a sign of decay, and Holland for more than two centuries; and though she is not so powerful in war as formerly, is yet in possession of a vast trade. This great difference lies in the governments. In France, the reparation of misfortunes, or the making any great exertions, is done by a weight of taxes, laid on all the lower ranks of people, out of proportion to the others. But in England and Holland, all classes bear an equal burthen; give whatever encouragement you will to commerce, still there will be evils inherent in the administration of absolute power, which no care or attention can overcome.

Both the Count and the Baron heard me with politeness and attention. The Baron declared himself of my opinion, and at once condemned the idea of making Denmark a great trading power. Our King, said he, keeps forty thousand soldiers in pay, and that is a degree of power inconsistent with trade and commerce, for it is certainly against trade to keep such an army; but what would become of Denmark, in the present

present state of the North, if she was not armed?

The Count did not carry matters thus far: He said, that I was certainly right in some of my principles, but that the kingdom, we were then in, proved against me in others. He desired me to consider the difference in the trade of England, or any other country at different periods. You had more wool in Henry the eighth's reign, than you have now; but what comparison is there between the benefit, resulting to the kingdom in the two periods? Then look at your corn trade, you had as many acres of land in the time of the ancient Britons, as now; but proper attention, and putting all the springs of industry in motion, have changed the possibility in one case, to a certainty in the other. You also beg the question, by stating as products, what are received by different nations from colonies or fisheries. Such may, for any thing you can assert to the contrary, be in the power of every nation, that chuses to accept of them. Why may not Denmark plant colonies in the Terra Australis? Why may she not gain a spice trade in the islands of the ocean, that bound the Philippines? Why may she not have her herring and whale fishery, as well as the Dutch?

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Most certainly, there wants little more than an animated spirit, in pushing all these matters to the utmost extent, in order to gain possession of many things, which at present are thought far beyond the power of a nation to attain to. The encouragement of commerce, manufactures, the arts and agriculture, will effect every thing; it is of little consequence to ask, what government a country is under. The most trading nations in the world inhabit Asia, and live under despotic monarchs, and have not even the advantage of any encouragement, but that of lucre. Look at France, when she was a mixed government, and behold her now; see the amazing improvements, which have taken place in Russia, and all effected by the absolute will of a monarch.

I replied, that this was all very true, and that I believe, I might have used expressions, rather too general; the truth is, I did not want arguments, so much as information, concerning the present state of Denmark; and therefore dropping the present subject, by bringing the object of our conversation nearer home, the Count gave me the following account.

The attention, which our two or three last Kings have given to the encouragement
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of every thing useful, but especially his late Majesty, has had such a strong effect, as is visible to all Denmark. The people are increased considerably, which I take to be the best sign of all others; and this has been pretty general, through Norway, Jutland, Sleswic, Holstein, and the isles. An exact register of population has been kept for near thirty years, by which it appears, that the increase is pretty regular in all those countries, which shews, that it is owing to a general order, and attention in government, which spreads equally over the kingdom; nor is this increase without another reason, and that not an impolitic one, it is the accession, which the King's territories receive from foreigners; great encouragement has, for some years, been given to all, who will settle in any part of his dominions, which has been such an inducement, that the number of Germans, who have arrived, is very considerable. Many tracks of the King's demesnes in Sleswic and Holstein, are entirely peopled with Germans, who have settled there for the sake of lands, being given them to cultivate for many years, without paying any rent. Some of the great kingdoms in Europe complain of a declining population, and with reason, according to the

the general accounts; it is certain, that France falls short four millions of people, from the number, she had in the best time of Lewis XIV's reign. And this decline of population in the richest kingdoms, and the increase of it in Denmark, is certainly a sign, that the affairs of this country are on the flourishing hand.

The next article, I shall mention to you, is our commerce. There is no comparison between the present trade of Denmark, and what it was thirty years ago; scarcely any thing has been omitted by the government, that could promote and enlarge the commerce of the kingdom. Besides the registry of ships, and the increase of the number and tonnage of them, there have been numerous advantages given to trade, which shew themselves in most of the branches of the nation's dealings with other countries. These have such an effect, as leaves no room to be mistaken. After numerous obstacles were overcome, we succeeded in establishing an East India company; the commerce of which does not indeed make the figure of some others, but the affairs of it are in good order, the trade increasing, and the profit considerable and regular; which is more than can be asserted of several others.

Our colonies, in the West Indies, thrive more than ever, though not very considerable; and our general commerce of Europe is greatly increased, of which there cannot be better proofs, than a rise in the crown revenues, and an increase of population and shipping.

But our trade depends on, and is much connected with the manufactures of the kingdom. I can shew you twenty books, which assert, that the Danes have no fabrics; those, who wrote so fifty years ago, spoke truth; but unfortunately, they have been copied by others, down to the very present day, although the former truth is such no longer. There has been a great turn in our commerce, from the change in this point; for formerly, we imported every thing, we used, even to the most common articles of cloathing, and the implements, instruments, machines, furniture, &c. that we used. These ruinous importations are not totally done with yet, but many of them are cut off, by supplying ourselves through the excellent means of establishing manufactures, which has been set about with great and real spirit, and attended to with so much care, that the number increases every day, so that there is the greatest reason to expect a constant diminution

minution in our expensive imports, which has been hitherto, and cannot fail of being in future a circumstance, infinitely advantageous to the kingdom. You must not misunderstand me, I am not asserting, that Denmark is become a manufacturing country; on the contrary, what, we yet make, bears no proportion, to what we import, but only, that measures have been some time in execution for lessening those imports; and that, from the success, which attends them, there is no doubt, but the kingdom is in this instance, on the improving hand.

The improvements, in agriculture, which have been made with the same attention and care, are very great and conspicuous in divers parts of all the King's dominions; and nothing can exceed the means, which have been taken in this work, to accomplish the end. The former bad state of the kingdom was greatly owing to the misery, under which the peasants groaned: This has been every where mollified; they have had numerous edicts in their favour, villainage is in many districts abolished, and the nobles and gentry prevented, by severe laws, from trampling upon the lower classes, in the manner they too commonly did formerly. The late King sent several very able men to travel

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through England, in order to report to him, on their return, the peculiarities, laws, customs, and conduct, which, in that kingdom, seemed most conducive to the well being of husbandry. Their journey was executed with great ability, and from their memoirs, his Majesty and his ministers were enabled to judge what was, and what was not, practicable in Denmark. The grand articles were to give more freedom to the class of cultivators, to secure their property, to abolish multipliable taxes, and to lett farms on long leases, with covenants of improvement. These were the great heads of the report, and the points, upon which they most insisted, as those, which were of the greatest benefit in England. They offered numerous inferior ones, upon the particular conduct of certain soils, upon draining, manuring, ploughing, &c. Implements were sent over as patterns, and some ingenious men to instruct us in the use of them; and the King, in order to preserve the knowledge, thus gained, fixed these, with handsome salaries, on his crown lands, with their implements, and directed each to manage a given quantity of land, according to the English husbandry: The men, who worked under them for three years, were then changed, and sent

to other estates, and fresh ones instructed, and the implements were on course multiplied with all of them; so that, at this time, there are a vast number in constant use in different parts of the kingdom. The effects of such measures as these must, in the nature of them, be very slow, but still they are real and increasing. But the consequences of the principal parts of the scheme have been rapid and great, particularly the letting lands on leases of improvement, which the King put in execution upon the crown lands immediately, and upon a large scale; and by his recommendations to the nobility, &c. and granting privileges to estates, in this management, the method spreads so much, that if the spirit, which now animates the kingdom, lasts but for half a century, I believe Denmark will be as well cultivated, as some parts of England, and those, not the worst. Another encouragement, which his late Majesty gave to agriculture, was ordering the best books on that subject in the French, English, and German languages, to be translated into Danish, and many complete sets of these he made presents to such of his subjects, as made themselves at all known, by any undertakings in agriculture, that were beyond the common

practice. He also published the offer of considerable premiums, to be annually distributed among the tenants of the Royal demesnes, who excelled the most, in such and such works.

Now, Sir, you must once more allow me to remind you, that I have mentioned none of these instances, to shew, that the agriculture, manufactures, or commerce of Denmark are nearly advanced to perfection, or that great changes have already been effected, that is, by no means, the purport of my discourse; but the fact is, that we, in all these branches, are undoubtedly improving, and that, not slowly; and this, I conceive, is all, that any kingdom or people can wish for, as sudden acquisitions are seldom lasting. The improvement, which I should apprehend, a sensible people would be most desirous of seeing, is a silent, gradual increase, and industry every where spread and always (though slowly) active; the happiest and best days seen by any nation, are not those brilliant ones, when every undertaking is, in every view, ripened into completion; for then a thousand evils are continually shewing themselves in dangerous consequences, arising from the possession of too much wealth; but this has no being with a nation

tion, that is only on the improving hand; there can be only wealth enough to animate the industry of the people, and to keep every thing from languishing. In a word, Sir, if we could reduce all the interests of a nation, such as commerce, the arts, manufactures, agriculture, population, income, &c. to one aggregate, we should then have but one question to enquire and be satisfied in, whether such nation was to be esteemed in a good situation, and that is, does that aggregate, improve, or decline? While an improvement goes on, however slow, the nation must be esteemed flourishing; and the contrary, the moment it stops increasing.

In a successive conversation I had with the Count, he enlarged his information on certain points, upon which, I took the liberty to make enquiries. I had mentioned the state of their East India trade; and he said, that several plans had been laid before the ministry for increasing it, and among others, there was one, which had actually been so much approved, as to be put, partly, in execution, and this was, to purchase by treaty, the port and territory of Mosambique, on the coast of Africa, from the Portuguese; a

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colony

colony which is of little national advantage to that kingdom, since the declension of their affairs in the East-Indies, but which would be of infinite importance to the Danes, in case they set heartily about an increase of their India commerce. The Count further assured me, that, in some negotiations with the Court of Lisbon, matters had gone so far, as fixing the terms, which, though they were too high to conclude on, yet they brought on a further treaty, relative to other settlements in the Indies, and which it was evident they seemed ready enough to part with, in case they could get high terms. Mosambique, from its situation, might be a port and colony of as great importance, even as the Cape of Good Hope; all our ships, going and coming to and from the Indies, might water and take in their refreshments there; behind it lie the richest countries in Africa, and it is open to the trade of the rest of that vast coast, to Arabia, Persia, &c. so that there can be no doubt, but it would turn out a place of infinite importance in the hands of an active, industrious nation. The treaty, upon this affair with Portugal, is broke off, without coming to any conclusion,

sion, but on what account is more, than I am able to tell you.*

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* The idea of purchasing this settlement, was certainly an admirable one; the following is the account given of it by the very ingenious editor of the last edition of Harris's Voyages and Travels. Vol. I. p. 697. "The best of all governments, that still belongs to the viceroy of the Indies, is that of Mosambique, which is an island situated near the coast of Africa, in the lat. of 15° south, within half a league of the continent. They have a strong fort there, with four good bastions, which command the channel, and in which there are seventy pieces of brass cannon; and here there is always kept a good garrison, and in tolerable order. The governor is honoured with the title of General of the river Senna, where he has his Lieutenant, which employment was worth to him several hundred thousand crowns a year; there are but a few houses about the fort, the inhabitants keeping their effects on the neighbouring continent. But notwithstanding the narrowness of the place, there are monasteries of Jesuits, Dominicans of St. John de Dios, besides the chief church, and that of Misericordia. The merchandize brought to this place, by the ships of the company, are bought at a set price by the royal factory, which afterwards sends them to Chelimani, the mouth of the river Senna, running three hundred miles along the coast, in galliots and small vessels, because of the flats from Chelimani; the goods are sent up the river, against the stream, in almandies, or little boats, which are ten days going up, and about five coming down. It is very difficult going up for those who are not acquainted with the shallows and windings of the river. Cafres and blacks resort to this port,

There is no object in our trade, that has been more considered of late years, than the East

port, from provinces and kingdoms three or four months journey distant, to buy and take up goods upon trust, for so much gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next year, unless death prevents them. This trade yields above cent per cent, so that the Portuguese may be said to have another India in Africa. Senna is a little town, on the right hand of the river, inhabited by fifty Portuguese families, who make it populous enough by the great number of blacks they keep. They till the ground, and dig the mines, and by that means maintain their masters, instead of being kept by them. About fifteen days journey from hence, lies Sofala, where the Portuguese have likewise an establishment, subject, however, to the General of Mosambique; and here a prodigious trade is driven on, of which the Portuguese are or might be masters. It consists chiefly of gold, of which there are greater quantities here, than in any other country in the world, since the annual produce of this market is computed, by the best judges, at forty six thousand ounces. There are vast quantities of Spanish and Canary wines, oil, silks, linens, cottons, coral, and other European goods sold here, which are carried by the inhabitants of the little kingdom of Sofala, through all the great empire of Monomopata, which the Portuguese stile the empire of gold, from the prodigious quantities of that precious metal which is brought to them from thence. There are likewise some very rich commodities brought hither by the negroes; such as the most excellent ebony in the world; great quantities of ivory; abundance of fine mats,

East India commerce, for it must certainly strike you, that what we want to gain, is a greater

mats, which are much esteemed in the Indies, and a great number of slaves; so that Goa, and all the rest of the Portuguese settlements, are furnished from hence. One may justly wonder, that, considering the value of this settlement, and its convenient situation, the Dutch had not made themselves masters of it long ago, as well as all the other places, belonging to the crown of Portugal, on this coast. As for the share, which the Portuguese still retain, the gold obtained thereby is sent to Goa and to Diu, where it is coined into small pieces, called St. Thomas's, which are not worth above half a crown of our money; and it is observed, that this coin is of a worse touch, that is, of a baser alloy, than any other in the Indies, which is another sign of a declining trade; for the Sarafins, which were formerly coined at Ormuz, when in the Portuguese hands, were esteemed the best gold in the Indies, but they are now become extremely scarce; and the St. Thomas's are said to be coined in less quantities every year.

“ These possessions are said to produce so little to the King of Portugal, that it has been more than once debated, in the council of that Prince, whether it would not be for the interest of the crown to abandon them all together, withdrawing their artillery and effects; and we are likewise told, that it is not any political, but purely a religious motive, that has hindered this resolution from being taken, the priests having suggested, that, in that case, a multitude of souls would be lost to the church. We shall the less wonder at this, if we consider, that such as are best acquainted with the East India

a greater plenty of commodities, to form a trade with in Europe, and nothing answers better,

India trade, assure us, that a single merchant, and a single ship of a reasonable burthen, may carry on as great a commerce as what at present subsists between Lisbon and Goa; this matter, however, deserves some explanation. There are yet a great many ships employed from Goa, Diu, and Daman, to the coasts of Persia, Pegu, Manilla, and China, but they are mostly on account of Indian merchants, there being scarce a Portuguese trader at Goa able to furnish a cargo of ten thousand crowns; and it is very much doubted, whether in the whole of their trade they employ above two hundred thousand crowns; so that it is not at all strange, that one year with another, there are not above two ships sent directly from Goa to Lisbon, and those not a fourth part so rich as when they annually sent twenty.

“ Yet there has been a late regulation made at Goa, for the preservation and promoting of trade, which those, who understood that subject best, agree, completed its ruin.

“ This is an exclusive company, which has the sole right to the commerce of Mosambique and Mocha, which company has taken upon itself the payment of the royal officers, who are also two thirds employed therein; which has given such a blow to the natural commerce of Goa, that the best part of the Indian merchants that were left, are now retired from thence. To say the truth, it was the great share the Viceroys, Governors, and other officers, always took in commerce, without contributing any thing thereto, except protecting the merchants from the violence committed by themselves,
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better, in this respect, than good and great assortments of East India goods : we have

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on such as did not admit them to a share of their trade; that first destroyed the extensive commerce they enjoyed. And upon this subject, the wits of the Indies have framed a very pretty allegory : they say, that when the Portuguese came first to them, they had a sword in one hand, and a crucifix in the other ; but that they might fill their pockets the faster, they quickly dispensed with the first, and soon after laid down the last, by which they have lost all. But though their power and their commerce are so much declined, their pride is as great as ever, insomuch that they refuse the natives of the country, who are called Canarins, the wearing of stockings, though they employ them as physicians, lawyers, and merchants ; by which many of them are so rich, that they keep a dozen or fourteen slaves, and are in much better circumstances than the Portuguese themselves.

“ The revenues of the church have suffered very little by this most surprising change in the state; there is hardly a monastery, that does not receive four or five thousand crowns out of the treasury, at the same time, the soldiers starve and mutiny for want of pay ; which is so much the harder upon the government, because the reverend fathers know very well, how to take care of themselves, insomuch, that it is affirmed, the Jesuits in Goa have a better revenue than the crown of Portugal. It is not easy to know, what becomes of the money these church men raise; but it is very evident, that the wealth they possess, together with the establishment of the inquisition at Goa, is such a dead weight on the settlement, as
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remarked; not only in the trade of our neighbours, but also in the small share of that

must sooner or later destroy it. The wisest of the Portuguese in Europe, understand this very well; and would be glad to see some proper remedy applied, not from a prejudice against the church or churchmen, which is far enough from being the vice of that nation; but out of pure regard to the crown and to the nation; and one would think, that the clergy themselves, instead of grasping at more, ought to be willing to part with some proportion of what is already in their hands, in order to render the state more able to protect them in the possession of the remainder. Besides there is nothing clearer, than that the erecting of religious houses, is directly opposite to the very scheme of planting, and must always ruin the settlements where it prevails, and consequently the religious houses themselves, which is even an argument that ought to prevail with Popish Princes, to lay more restraint on the missionaries that are sent abroad; unless they prefer the reputation of zeal, among such as are no competent judges, not only to maxims of policy and good government, but to the principles of true religion. For if there be any piety in converting pagans to the christian faith, it follows, that there is still greater piety in doing this effectually, and in maintaining for ever the establishments necessary to support them, which reason and experience shews, the building monasteries, and maintaining numbers of idle people in them, will not do; but on the contrary, will bring on, in time, the destruction of those colonies, in which this humour is suffered to prevail.

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that commerce, which we possess ourselves,
that no other is a better introduction to
other

“ The very last advices from this part of the world inform us, that several Indian Princes were driven from before Goa, which they had blocked up with a numerous army, by the powerful succours sent by the King of Portugal, and by the excellent conduct of the late viceroy, who was the Count de Laurical, and who, if I mistake not, was twice in the Indies, and behaved there with great reputation. Such expeditions, however, are to be considered as expedients only, which may for a time preserve that settlement, but can never restore it, or bring the affairs of the nation, in these parts, into so good order as to make them worth the attention of a Prince, who has the honour of his crown, and the good of his people at heart.

“ It is morally certain, that the establishments which the crown of Portugal still have in the East Indies, might in the hands of an active, an industrious nation, turn to considerable account; for it has been long ago observed by Mr. Tavernier, that the port of Diu is as well situated for trade, and as capable of improvement, as any in that part of the world, or more so; and if put under proper regulations, that is, if made in some measure a free port, it must necessarily come in for a large share of that commerce now carried on at Surat, and in all probability, retrieve much of the Arabian and Persian commerce, that has been so long lost to the Portuguese: On the other hand, as they have still some factories at Bisnagar, and other places on that coast, it would be no difficult matter to re-establish their commerce in the heart of India, at the same time, that the port of Macao would furnish them with the means of supplying the China market,

other branches of trade throughout the world; for that nation, which can bring these

as cheap, or cheaper than any other European nation; because their colony at Mosambique is so situated; as to serve them for the same purpose that the Cape of Good Hope does the Dutch, or the island of St. Helena does the English.

“ But all these advantages signify nothing in the hands of those, who are so far from possessing the virtues requisite to such improvements, that, on the contrary, they are not only tainted with, but over-run by such vices, as must unquestionably overturn the best establishment in the world. We may therefore safely predict, that the continuance, even of that slender power which the Portuguese have still left, cannot continue long, and that for these two plain reasons; first, because it has been long, and is still in a declining condition; so that its force being extremely decayed, and at the same time continually employed in resisting the efforts of its enemies, it is impossible, in the nature of things, that it should subsist for any time: secondly, the manners of the people are entirely ruined, so that there is not the least probability that any such reformation will ever be effected, as might enable them to make such use of the convenient ports, of which they are still possessed, as is necessary to revive and restore their commerce in the Indies. I venture therefore to pronounce, that in the compass of twenty or thirty years, their establishments in these parts will be quite lost, and that, in all likelihood, Goa, Diu, and Daman, will be lost first; which will necessarily draw after them the desertion of Macao, which cannot long subsist by its own force, and
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these to the best market, will generally have the choice of commerce among various nations. Germany is without an East India company; her neighbours supply her and Poland, Hungary, part of Russia, all Italy, Switzerland, and part of Turkey. These countries together, form a market for India goods, of infinite consequence; and it highly behoves us, who lie extremely well for the transportation of commodities to many of those countries, to aim at coming in for a share of this profitable commerce: what we have carried on for some years, from Altena, has been of much service to the kingdom, by opening an extensive correspondence into the heart of Germany, by means of the India warehouses, there established. The state of our trade is this, we have never been able to exceed the send-

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lies at much too great a distance to receive any effectual succour or support from Portugal directly."

I have given this long quotation, for two very essential reasons; first, the book is scarce and dear, and of too great a size to be in every person's hands; and secondly, because the whole turn of the passage shews, that the idea of the Danish ministry's purchasing Mozambique, and the other settlements of the Portuguese, is highly probable; since it is evident, the possessors know not what to do with them.

ing out more than four ships to the Indies, and but once, have received so many from thence; we have had, very often three, and sometimes, only two, though the ships are of great burthen. The sales are regular, and the profit, that is made on the stock, very considerable; the point, therefore, which is effected, is the supplying ourselves with commodities, which, formerly, we were forced to take of other nations; this a very essential object in every trade; we have further gained a small export to Germany, but the amount of two or three ships makes so poor a figure, with what might, with management, be effected, that the ministry, in entering into a treaty with Portugal, certainly aimed at a much more extensive commerce: had Mosambique been ours, we calculated to have sent six ships annually, without any other acquisitions; but had the treaty been extended, and we had purchased their settlements in the Indies, we should soon have had a more flourishing India trade, than any nation in Europe, the English and Dutch only excepted.

Here the Count finishing his discourse, the Baron de Rosenberg continued the conversation; his objection was stated as follows. I have more than once heard, this
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India scheme debated, and I remember an argument, not against it, but against precipitation in it, which, I think, was never clearly answered. In the India commerce, you send out silver, and bring home commodities ; with the silver, it is true, there goes some large assortments of European manufactures, particularly fine cloths : now the export of silver by the East India company, has nothing objectable in it, to the amount of supplying the home consumption with India commodities, because if we did not buy them of our own company, we should of the Dutch ; and the amount in silver would certainly go out of the country the same in either case ; only in one, we have the profit of the trade ourselves, and the employment of the shipping and seamen ; but in the other, those advantages go to our neighbours. Thus far, I admit there is no dispute ; but when this trade is extended further, and you supply other nations with India goods, you must send out greater quantities of silver, without any certainty, that you will get it again ; you will sell those goods to other nations, who most certainly will not pay all in money for them, but, in the way of trade, put off many of their own commodities in exchange which

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will either be introduced into Denmark, to the prejudice of our own, or else the India commerce decline, as soon as raised: but there is another objection; in the present confined trade we carry on with the Indies, we buy cloths of the English, to send out in our ships, our own manufacturers, not being yet able to supply enough of the finer sorts for that export, or our own consumption; what therefore would they be able to do, if the trade was trebled or quadrupled? Why, this part of the profit of it, which is one of the most considerable, would go directly to England; so you would consequently pay silver in Europe, for an ability of paying more silver in the East, for goods, which, when sold, would be paid for in manufactures, that rival our own. Such is my idea of this fine scheme: I am sensible, that you may quote the English, Dutch, and French, but the cases are essentially different; they would be great trading nations, full of manufactures, if they had no India commerce; they send out their own manufactures, and in the sale of such India goods, as they dispose of to other nations, their great trade enables them to form universal cargoes, in which, one assortment carries off another, and all pays well; besides

Besides the home consumption of the English and French is immense ; and the Dutch monopoly of spice gives them equal and superior advantages, for which reasons, it cannot be just to draw any conclusions from the East India trade of those nations.

The Count to this replied, that he acknowledged much of the truth of these observations, but, at the same time, there were two answers, which would in general remove the objections. First, the friends of the East India commerce in Denmark, never thought of encouraging that commerce to the prejudice of any other, and, in particular, of their manufactures ; that they had always proposed the India commerce, as a means of promoting the manufactures of fine cloths, camlets, serges, &c. which are already established at Copenhagen, and other places ; that these manufactures were on the increase, and if a quick demand was raised by the India company for their fabrics, it would be a great means of raising those manufactures ; that the proposition was supposed to be dependant on this circumstance, viz. on the home manufacturers being able to supply all the goods carried to the Indies ; that it was an error to suppose, they did not now work up sufficient

for our present India commerce ; that they made, on the contrary, of many sorts, as much, as they could vend ; that if they wrought to twenty times their present amount, still certain cloths, of a particular fabric, would be imported from England ; and it would answer better so to import, than to make them, from the superior profit attending other sorts. Upon the whole, that the fabrics of cloths, &c. established, were in so flourishing a situation, that there was not a doubt of their supplying any demand, we could gain for them ; and that we consequently ought to procure a demand, as essential to their increase and prosperity. Secondly, That the objection to the trade, on the score of occasioning an import of foreign commodities to rival our own, is answered at once, by asking, if such importations cannot be prohibited, or obstructed by high duties ? All the neighbours of Denmark, might pour in manufactures or products of some sort or other, if permitted, to the ruin of our own, but prohibitions, or duties, are the means taken to prevent it ; and what has been already mentioned, is proof sufficient, that the trade itself would not fall in consequence of them.

Upon

Upon this argument, I think the Count had much the best side, and shewed, by his manner of handling it, that he had not only great abilities, but also a deep knowledge in the trade of the world.

In a succeeding conversation, which I had with the Count, at which the Baron de Rosenberg was not present, he explained to me another scheme of trade, which had been laid before the ministry, in the late King's reign, and which was much approved by them, but which, for some reason or other, that was never known, the King would not come into; for when pressed upon this head, more than once, his only answer was, I do not approve it, let me hear no more of the matter; and this was the reason, that no attempt was ever made. The plan was, to open a commerce with the great southern unknown continent, called the Terra Australis; a memorial was delivered to the minister, pointing out the advantages, which would certainly accrue from carrying on a commerce with numerous nations, situated in the richest climates of the world, and who are unknown to the traffick of the world, and who would consequently give their most valuable products for our commodities of the least worth; stating the proper means of making the requisite discoveries

at the least expence, and shewing, that there was nothing chimerical in the plan, but that every part of it was of easy execution, the risque little, the probable advantage very great. But so it was, the King would not allow of its being attempted, though several of the members of the council of commerce, took upon them to answer any objections, that might be started to it.

This plan was, I think, that which bid fairest, to throw Denmark upon a par with other nations in commerce. The English, Dutch, French, Spaniards, and Portuguese, have all such extensive colonies and settlements, that they have enough to improve and promote, without seeking for new discoveries; this has been a general answer in those countries to all proposals of new expeditions; but however just it may be with them, it is, by no means, so with us, who have been long much in want of divers ways of increasing the trade and wealth of the kingdom; for it is for want of wealth, gained by industry, that our national revenues, notwithstanding all our improvements, are yet so small in the eyes of the other kingdoms of Europe. The opening new discoveries, erecting a few forts, establishing factories among populous nations of Indians, unknown

unknown to Europeans, and the carrying on an extensive commerce with them, would not only pour in a flood of wealth upon this kingdom, but, what is also of vast consequence, keep numbers of stout ships and hardy seamen in constant employment; not the employment of short trips from Norway to London or Amsterdam, but in long voyages, which train up and breed a species of mariners, infinitely valuable to any nation, that pretends to the least degree of naval force. This point is, I think, of such importance, that nothing can at any time be more feasible, than such long voyages, and distant expeditions, for the discovery of settlements, and planting of fertile and rich countries; and such expeditions ought, as I before observed, to be particularly undertaken by those nations of inferior consequence in trade, who want spurs to animate them to great undertakings.

And if I was not fearful, that the conversation would be tedious to you, I should more particularly insist on the amazing difference between this and the last century, and that preceding, in re-entering on distant expeditions for the discovery of unknown countries. It is astonishing to think of such a bold and adventurous spirit, as then animated

animated such numbers of men to undertakings, which would now be thought chimerical. The discovery of the continent of America was immediately followed by planting, trading, and conquering; with innumerable expeditions thither. But what a difference is there between that age, and those, which have followed! There is at present no doubt of a Terra Australis: a great part of it, in the richest climates in the world; has been accurately coasted, and laid down in maps. Other vast discoveries have been made, at different times, in the South-Sea, of lands, yet it is unknown, whether they be islands or a continent. Nothing is pursued, no further notice taken of the greatest discoveries, that could ever be made. Maps have been made near two centuries of New Guinea, New Holland, Carpentaria, and other tracks, part of the Terra Australis, and yet the world has been satisfied with seeing a broken partial line of coast minuted, without any prince having the curiosity of making further discoveries, to ascertain the real truth, concerning the people, manners, products, &c. Never was there such a contrast, as is to be found in this conduct, from that of the great men, who, two hundred years ago, made the most glorious efforts without

out half the prospect of success. It is a most certain fact, that America contains not any product, which these unknown countries do not possess; in some, the latter are superior, as for instance in spices. The best judgment to be formed of any country, is by the latitudes; indeed, it is a criterion, that is, in general, decisive. Now the latitude of the tracks, already discovered to the South, are in the same latitude, with all the richest climates in the rest of the globe, extending to the line. Who therefore can doubt, but that all the products, for which the European nations have been so eager in their American views, are to be found here? There, they are already engrossed and monopolized by two or three powerful nations, the first discoverers of them; but here, they are open to those, who will take the trouble to accept them. Colonies in America have been attended with infinite advantages to the English and the French; indeed, they proved the great support and foundation of the former's power and opulence, and added infinitely to those of the latter; why therefore should not other nations, not yet possessing the same advantages, endeavour to attain them by the same means? The only opportunity left in the world, lies in the Great Continent

ment, or islands to the Southward; the navigator, who shall now attempt their discovery, has not the difficulties to encounter, which proved obstacles to Columbus; he does not sail in pursuit only of an idea; on the contrary, he sets forth under the complete knowledge, that such a country, as he seeks, really exists; and that he has nothing to do, but to follow a route, already chalked out, to bring him to the countries, he wishes to visit. If this plain state of the case does not shew the expediency of the measure, I must own myself, utterly ignorant of all the principles of trade and navigation.

These ideas of the Court's, I had not the least inclination to contradict, for I thought them, and do yet think them, perfectly sound; and they shew, that their author has well considered the whole subject; nor have I the least doubt, but that Denmark, or any other country, would reap all the advantages, here set forth, by attempting a full discovery of those unknown regions, and of fixing a trade with them. But let me remark, that such a nobleman's complaint of the want of that spirit of enterprize, which so much distinguished the last age but one, is the strongest proof in the world of the truth
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of the assertion. Every one now, who thinks of, or mentions such an idea, immediately recurs to kings, ministers, councils of trade, or companies; whereas the great things, that were done in the fifteenth century, were all executed by private people, almost solely on their own ideas; and with such slender means, that the ability of this very nobleman exceeds, I apprehend, the whole of what was executed by half a score of the heroes of old. This was the true spirit of enterprize, which brought to light such amazing discoveries, and which occasioned the most heroical conduct in almost every commander employed. A ship of an hundred tons was, in that age, thought sufficient for an undertaking, which would now require an army and a fleet, such is the difference between the genius, that actuated men then, and now; and that all this difference lies only in the manners of the ages, is certainly known, by the real objects of such expeditions, being the same now as then, only much less hazardous, from the improvements, that have been made in the art of navigation, and from the examples and experience of so many circumnavigators. The difficulties and dangers are therefore less, but the bold spirit of enterprize is wanting, which

which was alone sufficient to level thousands of difficulties, and face every danger, that could arise.

And as the conversation with this worthy nobleman, has brought me into these reflections, I shall trespass on the reader's patience, in making another. The Count's remark, that these attempts of new discovery, not being desirable to nations, who have already colonies and settlements enough, I do not think is just. All experience tells us, that when once a nation sets down contented, and says to herself, we have industry enough, we have colonies sufficient, we want no more trade, let us confine ourselves to make the most, of what we have already gained. Whenever a nation acts (or rather ceases to be active) on such principles, we may safely venture to pronounce her decline at hand. It is impossible, that industry and commerce should be stationary; if it ceases to advance, it will go backward; activity, and motion, are the soul of its success; trade never makes such gigantic strides, as in the midst of wars, enterprizes, and a continual bustle. The case of the Dutch is a striking instance of this; for the moment, they were contented with their present possessions, they began to decline; but their progress

progress had been incessant from one hardy enterprize to another. The Portuguese in India are another very striking instance of this truth; for after a great number of conquests made, settlements established, and colonies planted, thinking, they had extended themselves sufficiently, and possessed enough, they then gave over their perpetual enterprizes, and a luxurious effeminacy presently came upon them. Everyone will allow, they were right in thinking, that they had conquered and settled enough, provided all that candour and spirit, which had gained the Indies, had been exerted to improve them. But this was not the case, nor ever can be, for the spirit of adventure brings acquisitions eternally, and the moment you cease to acquire, you begin to lose; it being the general bent of human nature, not to make great exertions, when they are unnecessary. Might I not shew, that this is not peculiar to forming settlements of trade, but that it is the same in all the affairs of life. Great success, in every walk, is gained by the bold enthusiasm, which attends the activity of pursuit, but falls off, when a series of fortunate events have blunted the edge of this activity, and brought on a slothful possession. This is the case in
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common life, in war, in politicks, in commerce. Empires flourish, while they boldly go on from one conquest to another; but decline instantly, when they fix bounds, and seek only the quiet possession, of what they have got. It is the nature of man to lose his powers and his faculties by rest and inactivity; and on the contrary, a constant and harrassing fatigue gives him the ability of undertaking and executing, what, in a state of rest, he would never have dreamed of being able to effect. It is upon the solid foundation of these reasons, that I am an enemy to sentiments, which I have often heard in England, concerning the greatness of our colonies and commerce; that we have colonies enough, and more than we know what to do with; that commerce will be our ruin; that we should content ourselves with less; that moderation is in every thing a virtue. These are most erroneous doctrines, which can only arise from taking a very superficial view of things. If the men, who started these ideas, and complain of the extent of our colonies, and the greatness of our commerce, had read the history of all colonies, and all the trade, that has been carried on in the world, and had reflected on what they read, they would have
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made very different deductions. They would then have found, that the number of settlements are never burthenfome in themselves, but that all weakness must be looked for at home. When the Portuguese spread themselves, and built fortresses and cities in every corner of the Indies, they did not complain of the burthen of their settlements; but now they have, through a want of that spirit, made their acquisitions neglected, and lost nine tenths of them, they find the remainder such a weight, as to debate, whether they should not abandon them : and if ever England falls into the same delusion, she will feel the same consequences. Are Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua burthenfome to this nation? Is the possession of Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and Maryland, too much for her? Suppose she gives up some of them, will she better preserve and make the greater profit of the rest? She has found difficulties of many sorts with her colonies, but it has been with those, which are situated in a climate like her own, and, of course, have rivalled her; this was a grand error in the first settling, but wise and active measures in transferring the inhabitants would do much to remedy it.

But do the possession of all these colonies, and her settlements in the East-Indies, preclude the benefit and propriety of planting others in all the distant regions of the world, not yet colonized? None, but men of narrow views, will reply in the affirmative; all others will, on the contrary, assert, that we ought to take every measure to increase our settlements, and extend our commerce, upon the most essential principle of all, that if we do not go forward, our motion will be retrograde, as it is impossible in trade to stand still. Our great riches, and important colonies, will naturally make many people say, is not this enough, for what should we have more? But there is an inactivity in that content, which rusts all the springs of enterprise, which opens the door to sloth, and which is much surer to destroy, than the most wild enthusiasm of attempting, even impossibilities. These are but general ideas; but if this was a proper opportunity of expatiating more particularly upon objections, and giving them the fairest play, it would be extremely easy to refute them; and to shew, that no extent of colony, no commerce, however immense, ought in England to be esteemed enough; but that an activity should ever be kept up, and every
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measure followed, which promised fairest for continuing the same conduct that raised the trade. But to return :

Upon another occasion, in which I had the honour of a conversation with the Count de Smikelande, I ventured to enquire into the motives of their King's journey to England, where he was at this time; and the account he gave me is as follows : There had been several propositions made to the minister for further improvements in agriculture and manufactures, most of which were built on the reports of some persons whom they had sent, and on whose judgment they could rely, into England. They were more than once examined in the King's presence, and that is supposed to have been the cause of his journey; for he soon after mentioned the scheme to M. d'Olore, and said, that utility and pleasure might be very well intermixed in such a plan. However, it was soon after determined on, much against the inclination of the ministers. Certainly there may be several good consequences result from the journey. He has several people with him, who are very able to remark, in all the useful arts, what will be most suitable to Denmark; and, if his majesty's attendants are careful, to make the journey a lesson to him

on the great importance of a high degree of cultivation; of flourishing manufactures; of an equal liberty, springing from a mild government; and of the happiness of the lower classes of a nation, there is no doubt, but Denmark will be the better for the journey; but if he hurries from place to place, without minutely attending to any thing; and if the plan, which has its origin in utility, ends only in a scheme of pleasure, it cannot but be attended with pernicious consequences; for it will, in the first place, be very expensive; and in the second, it will introduce into his court many luxurious methods of expence, of which he would otherwise have remained in ignorance. But how it will turn out, we shall by and by see.

During my stay at Copenhagen, which was about three weeks, I had the uncommon satisfaction of being much with this excellent nobleman, and of conversing with him upon various subjects, relative to the present state of Denmark; and in all of them, I found him a man of very superior knowledge and ideas. I gained abundance of good information from him, which proved not a little entertaining to me, and I hope not less instructive to the reader.

Before

Before I conclude what I have to say on this kingdom, and its inhabitants, I must beg leave to remark, that most of the persons with whom I conversed concerning them, generally quoted Mr. Moleſworth, whose book has been transcribed over and over again by every author that has written any thing concerning Denmark; but almost every circumstance to be gathered from that writer, is changed essentially since his time; insomuch, that although his book is a very able performance, yet it is little more than an old almanack for turning to, to gain information of the present times; for I do not apprehend, there is a kingdom in Europe in which greater changes have been made. The reader is therefore desired not to wonder at the accounts I have given, and am about to give, being, in many particulars, directly contrary to the assertions made by that gentleman.

From all the opportunities I have had of seeing and conversing with the Danes, which I have done with all ranks, they appear to be a brave, courteous, and humane people. The superior classes are of an high spirit, and have as much vivacity in them as any people in Europe, the French alone excepted. They are shewy and fond of magnificence,

ficence, and live in a mean between the English and the Germans, more sumptuous than the latter, but not with such a general consistency as the former; but I speak here of their nobility only. In their dress, the French fashions are principally followed, and the language of that nation is also universal among them. In their houses, they are expensive not only in the architecture, but also in the furniture, exceeding in this respect the Germans, but not equaling the English; who, I take it, furnish their houses in general far better than any nation in the world. At their tables, they resemble the Germans most for cookery, but do not set so long at their meals. In Germany, four courses and a desert will hold, upon a moderate computation, four hours and an half, which in England is dispatched in one; but the Danes are between the two, seldom rising however under the two hours. Some of the nobility are very expensive in French cooks, but it is not general. In their wines, they are particularly curious; nor do I in any country remember tasting a greater variety, or better of the sort. Their tables are admirably well served with fish, particularly of fresh water; and the sea fish is in great abundance, though not of the

the best sorts. Wild fowl they abound greatly in, and have a greater variety than we in England. Their venison is excellent; but their butchers meat is not, on the whole, to be compared to that of the English. All the rich nobility have hot houses, and hot walls, fronted with glass, in their gardens; yet for want of a complete knowledge in the management of the plants, their fruit in general is bad. In other sorts of provisions, they are upon a par with their neighbours; and their importations of various eatables of luxury have much increased of late years.

If an account is taken in all these particulars of the next class of the people, the gentry, there will appear a vastly greater difference between them and the same rank in England, than between the Danish and the English nobility. They are not so comfortable in their circumstances, scarce any of them are the masters of such estates as to carry them almost to a par with the nobles, which is so common in our country. Considering that a great part of the nobility make a very handsome figure, the gentry do not proportionally equal them.

The lower classes are not comparable to ours, in ease and happiness; but they are by no means in that state of absolute slave-

ry they were in Mr. Molesworth's time. Several edicts and regulations have been published by the crown for restraining the antient villainage ; and a great number of cases specified, in which they gain their freedom ; and as to the lower inhabitants of towns and cities, they have the same freedom as in other absolute countries.

Respecting the persons and manners of the lower classes, they are generally as well made and as stout as the Germans ; they make good soldiers, and with any gentle usage are very docile and tractable. Their manners have nothing of disgusting brutality in them ; they are in the villages ignorant and clownish ; but I have travelled through several countries where the poor people are much more contemptible. With proper instruction, I believe there are none in Europe would make better husbandmen and farmers ; for all the peasants, whether free or not, are little farmers ; and many of them manage their small spots of ground in such a manner, that there can be no doubt, but under more favourable circumstances, they would equal their neighbours in every thing belonging to the culture of the earth.

The Danish army finds employment for many young men of small fortune, who
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serve in order to gain a genteel maintenance ; and the employments about the court, of the lower sort, provide for others ; some apply themselves to trade voluntarily, in order to raise fortunes, and freely embark for the East and West Indies ; and in the prosecution of these pursuits, they are remarkably diligent and indefatigable ; and very many of such as seek their fortunes abroad, return home with very good ones, especially since the late encouragement that has been given to commerce ; for during these latter reigns, there has been a regular attention to every thing that could promote the interests of trade ; and no acts of injustice or oppression, against those who have bettered their circumstances by any kind of industry, have been known in the crown, or suffered in any of the great men.

In their diversions, the Danes follow the fashions of the French and English ; cards make a greater progress than formerly ; and the wives of the nobility, and of such other classes as can afford it, have at Copenhagen their assemblies almost as regularly as any at London. The men are great chess-players ; it is a game they are very fond of, and which is more commonly introduced at their visits than in England ; billiards and tennis
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are also common at Copenhagen. The theatre is French, though they have lately established a Danish one, where pieces translated from the English and French are indifferently performed; attempts have been made for an Italian opera, but with no success.

Learning of all kinds is but at a low ebb; to say the truth, the encouragement, which has flowed amply from the crown, during the two last reigns, has been almost exclusively in favour of objects of utility. Trade, manufactures, and agriculture, have been much more attended to than the cultivation of literature and the sciences; though an academy was founded, but it has not been very productive. The laws of Denmark are very famous for their brevity and excellence, so that Mr. Moleworth thought them almost the only object worthy of attention in this kingdom. I made many enquiries on this head, and am convinced, from the information I received on very good authority, that the only excellence they contain, is that of freeing the subject from long and expensive suits; but then it is no more than fair on the other hand to observe, that their brevity leaves so much in the breast of the judge, that he is little more than a delegate

legate of despotism. I cannot by any means agree with the abovementioned gentleman, that this brevity, with such an attendant circumstance, is at all enviable. The throne of Denmark has, of late years, been filled with three or four very able princes, who have shewn, in every department of the state, such a spirited conduct, with so much attention to the welfare of their subjects, that I have no doubt, but the laws have been well and impartially executed; and while such a tight hand is held over all orders of the people in power, of whatsoever kind, I can easily conceive many blessings to flow from these short laws; but what would they be under a weak or a wicked Prince, or even under a negligent one? Is it not sufficiently plain, that the weakest would, in every instance, go to the wall; and that the power, which necessarily rests in the judge, would, in very many instances, be flagrantly abused? The evils which flow from the voluminousness of our laws are certainly many and very great, but they vanish from one's ideas when compared with the miseries that must result from the Danish system; which nevertheless is very well adapted for an absolute monarchy, but utterly inconsistent with real liberty.

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In the fine arts, the Danes are no proficient; I will not attribute this wholly to climate, though there is certainly much in that cause, but they have not encouragement enough to make any progress; the kingdom is too poor to yield a market even to great portrait painters; nothing can ever carry the fine, which, in fact, are the luxurious arts, to any degree of height, but a period full of wealth; in which luxury abounds to an high degree, and wherein the artists may find plenty of employment from the great and rich, and be at the same time very well paid for it. The only art that makes any decent figure at Copenhagen, is music, which flourishes pretty much at their concerts; I have heard several very capital German and Italian performers there, who met with pretty good encouragement.

Copenhagen principally flourishes from the residence of the court: this is much the most brilliant object in Denmark, by the accounts they gave me, for I had no opportunity of viewing it myself. There are many great officers of state, with considerable appointments; these, with the numerous inferior ones, and the guards, must render the town very gay. The Danish

Danish army is kept in very good order, and well disciplined; the men are picked, and their cloathing is in general very neat. I before mentioned, that they are not all embodied at a time, but they could draw together, at no long notice, about 40,000 men, with a fine train of artillery, and all stores proportioned. This renders the King a respectable monarch, in the military light, among the powers of the North; and has certainly been one reason for the long peace, in which two or three very wise Kings have kept their dominions. Denmark has nothing to fear from any of its neighbours, except Russia, with whom she cannot compare in force; and the disputes that have long subsisted between the crown of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein, would have brought her into no little trouble, had Russia interfered, and called upon her for an immediate settlement of them: whether this is likely to happen, cannot be ascertained; but certainly, the situation will remain very disagreeable and precarious, until it is compleatly decided. As the government of Sweden is now modelled, Denmark is an over-match for her. But in any quarrel with the powers of the Baltick, Denmark would find her fleet of the greatest use,

use, in preserving her from the resentment of Russia; for the navy of this kingdom is much superior to that of the Russian empire in every particular; in number and goodness of the ships, in artillery, order, seamen, magazines, &c. and the harbour of Copenhagen is beyond comparison, better than that of Petersburgh, or any other port belonging to the Russians on the Baltick; so that it would be no easy matter for that empire, with all her strength, to bring it to bear on Denmark; nothing could effect it but making herself superior at sea; and the harbour and docks, &c. at Petersburgh, are not at all calculated for that end; and I am inclined to believe, from the information I have received, that the crown of Denmark is much better able to increase its navy than Russia, and is in possession of ten times the hardy, ready-bred seamen; so that an attentive care to keep himself master upon the Baltick sea, will secure the King against any attempts from Russia, much better than any other means. By land, he is very secure, for no Russian army can get at him.

The revenues of Denmark have been increasing gradually for fifty years; but the two last Kings, at the same time that they
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did many great things for the good of their subjects, and the ornament of their kingdom, even abolished some taxes that were the most burthensome, greatly improved the royal income. Mr. Molesworth computed them at six hundred and forty thousand pounds a year; but they are now, upon the best computation I could procure, near one million two hundred thousand pounds; and in some years much exceed that sum. This appears no great matter in England, but in Denmark it is an immense sum, from the great cheapness of every commodity the crown can want to buy at home. His army, if subsidies be reckoned, and the great numbers to whom he finds nothing but arms, costs him nothing, though there have been some years in which Denmark has been without any treaties of subsidy. His navy is maintained at a very easy rate; the number in constant pay, in times of profound peace, is not considerable; the rest are retained by a month's pay in the year, to be ready at a call, and which they find a most excellent way; so that the expence of the navy is little more than the building and rebuilding ships, and filling the stores and magazines: an army and navy most certainly is not to be kept for nothing,
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or for a trifle. All I mean by these observations is, that they cost the King of Denmark incomparably less than the usual sum allotted in other countries for those services; which makes his revenue, which, at first sight, appeared but small, to be in reality very considerable: it is well known that the two last Kings saved considerable sums out of it, and one of them cleared off all the debts of the crown besides. Such a circumstance is essential in the history of the present state of a country; for it shews in what manner its affairs are conducted, and how well its revenue is able to answer all the calls of the state; which is, upon the whole, a great proof that the country is flourishing; and perhaps it is one that is not at all equivocal; for I am doubtful, whether great national debts, when they increase to an enormous amount, do not bring as much mischief with them, as they did service to the state in contracting them.

It is also to be observed here, that the increase of the royal revenue of Denmark has been almost solely owing to a general improvement in the riches and welfare of the nation, and not, in a single instance, to the addition of taxes. The increase of trade, the establishment of manufactures,
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and the improvement of lands, have all added to the general income of the people, and increased the number of the people themselves; and where taxes are at all general, as they are in Denmark, and indeed in most of the countries of Europe, all increase of income immediately makes taxes more productive; because the same taxes produce more in proportion, as the wealth of the people increases, and as they, consequently, can afford to make a more free use of the things and commodities, that are taxed. From hence it follows, that Denmark is not to be supposed poor, in proportion to the increase of the King's revenues, but, on the contrary, rich; and while taxes continue without increase or alteration, the product of them marks very exactly the general increase or decrease of the national stock and revenue; which is a circumstance, that should never be lost sight of, by those, who take any trouble in considering the state of Denmark.

I may, from these particulars, which are collected from such information, as I had very good reason to trust to, venture to draw this general deduction, that the state of this kingdom is flourishing, being in every circumstance on the improvement. The people increase; they are richer; the revenues of the crown is more than doubled,

without the addition of fresh taxes; numerous manufactures are established; much commerce acquired and encouraged; and, in general, the people are in a far better state and condition, than some years ago. These facts are of importance to be known; for every man, who wishes to be well acquainted with the transactions and present state of the world, ought to know, how these circumstances vary, particularly in the several kingdoms of Europe, which, it is extremely plain, cannot be learnt from books, written many years ago: all the affairs of a kingdom are liable to change very much, and it is only from fresh intelligence, therefore, that a just idea can be carried on. Nor should the inhabitants of Britain, of France, or of any other great kingdom, or empire, most interested on the theatre of Europe, neglect the affairs of their smaller neighbours. The greatest empires rise from small beginnings, and the most trifling kingdoms sometimes meet with opportunities for appearing with distinguished eclat in the affairs of the world. Denmark is no trifling kingdom; though not considerable, when compared with some others in Europe. It is for these reasons, that I have dwelt the longer on many particulars concerning it,
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in which the reader cannot gain any just intelligence from former books; for old ones are no longer true, and modern travellers have, in general, slighted all the North.

Having finished my enquiries at Copenhagen, I took my passage for London, in the Anna-Maria, a large ship bound for that port, in which I was accommodated with the total use of an agreeable cabin; and having laid in plenty of fresh provisions for my voyage, made a very good one, bringing over with me, in the same ship, my new postillion, as well as the servant I had carried from England: the former was much pleased with the idea of seeing that country. The climate of Sweden is too cold for winter travelling, I designed to stay therefore at London till May, and then to return, and begin my travels through that kingdom.

Travels through Sweden.

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Travels through Sweden.

C H A P. VI.

From Copenhagen to Elfsneur—Journey to Gottenburg—Description of the Country and the Husbandry—Gottenburg—Lake Wener—The State of the Country—To Upsal—Conversations with Sir Charles Linnæus—State of Agriculture in Sweden—Journey to Stockholm.

I Returned from England to Copenhagen, in May 1769, landing at that city the 24th; I waited the following day on M. le Count Smikelande, and afterwards called on the Baron de Rosenberg, but the latter was absent at his estate at Funen; the Count gave me a letter of recommendation to the Baron Milster at Stockholm. I set off for Elfsneur the 26th, and not getting out so early in the morning, as I might have done, lost my passage for that day, and was forced to take my night's lodging at a miserable inn. Elfsneur is a small town, and very poorly built, and only remarkable for being the

place, where the Danes oblige ships to stop, in order to make them pay toll for passing the Sound. Near the town is the castle of Cronenburg, the cannon of which are supposed, though very falsely, to command the road; for many are the ships, that have bid defiance to the guns, and passed it toll free.

I should remark, that having sold my old chaise at Copenhagen, upon embarking last year for London, I intended to purchase another at that place, for equipping me on my Swedish expedition; but my friend the Count, advised me to trust to the chance of the road, till I reached Gottenburg, where I should be able to purchase another, much better adapted to the roads of Sweden, which are very stoney and mountainous; and this advice I followed, instead of supplying myself again at Copenhagen.

The 27th I crossed the passage, and landed at Elfinburg, a town in the Swedish province of Schonen, which is tolerably well fortified; the castle is a handsome edifice, but I do not take it to be very strong. From Elfinburg, I hired horses to Laholm, which is twenty-four miles distance; and for my baggage I hired a cart, called here a waggon,

waggon. This journey I performed very well by night; it lies through a country, that is, in general, flat, of a rich soil, and well cultivated; I think better, than most parts in Denmark. The people are evidently in a very happy and contented situation, and I take it, they are more independent, and more at their ease, than the Danes, from the plain spirit of liberty, which actuates them in their attention, or rather, want of attention to strangers; for you do not meet with the same civilities here, as on the other side of the water: I do not mean essential attentions, but those little marks of obligingness, which every foreigner looks for, in vain, in England, where every boor, he meets with, thinks himself as good, as a French Duke. Wherever I meet with this, I conclude at once, that I am in a very free country. The peasants were ploughing, their lands, which are all open fields, with oxen, two or three in a plough; and it went, I thought, as deep, as I have seen four horses in England, which struck me very much: they seem here to be very good husbandmen.

Upon this first mention of the husbandry in Sweden, let me remark, that during my
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residence at London last winter, I laid my design of a journey through Sweden, the ensuing summer, before my friend Mr. Y——, informing him, that I had passed through Holland, Flanders, part of Germany, and all Denmark; that I had made minutes of the events of my journey, and the observations, that had appeared most important to me; these I begged of him to look over; he approved much of my design; and I requested him to point out those enquiries in agriculture, which would most probably turn to account, and give me the best information to be gained in my journey through Sweden, Muscovy, and Poland. That gentleman granted my request in the most obliging manner, that was possible; and among other articles of enquiry, gave me a paper of the following, as important. I submitted entirely to his knowledge and judgment, in this matter, being myself ignorant of the practice of agriculture, and obliged to repeated enquiries, for the little knowledge I have of it.

“Take notice of the soil, particularly, as to the grand distinctions of clay, sand, and rocky; of chalk, I believe, they have none in Sweden.

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“ The crops, they cultivate, deserve notice, and the succession, in which they cast them.

“ The product is always of consequence to know.

“ The sort and application of manures should be attended to.

“ The winter food of cattle, in that cold climate, is of essential consequence to know.

“ I need not mention the general state of farms, respecting the number of hands, cattle, and products, proportioned to the given quantities of land; this must certainly strike you, as an essential object of enquiry; but you will not often be able to gain the intelligence, you wish in it.”

I was glad to find, that my friend had pointed out several enquiries, that I had made the preceding year in Flanders, Germany, and Denmark; had I been fortunate enough to have made the practice of this useful science, earlier my study, I should have been able to have given much more valuable and distinct accounts; but, nevertheless, the enquiries which a person, ignorant as I am, in passing through a country, which has scarcely ever been travelled, except on business, must have some use in them;

them; and accordingly, I shall not fail to make memorandums of the objects, which appear most striking to me, and which my ingenious friend's memorandums point out.

Laholm has nothing in it, worthy of the least notice: the next morning, viz. the 28th, I took horses to Helmstadt, at the distance of twelve miles, still continuing in a level country, which appeared very fruitful; all the country was in motion, tillage was every where going on for barley and oats, &c. Helmstadt is a port town, where there seems to be some trade, by the shipping I saw in the harbour; but it is not a considerable place. From hence I reached Ragelin by dinner, the distance of six and twenty miles, through a country, similar to the preceding; it is near a coast, but there are some higher grounds, which are principally sand banks, and which they plough and sow with various sorts of grain: there are likewise some marshes of vast extent, which, I was informed, were applied to fattening oxen, which are brought from the breeding country of the mountains, and having lived, in general, hardily, they fatten very quickly in these marshes; from the best intelligence I could get, I found, that they

they turned the beasts into them about the beginning of June, and they were generally fat by the end of August: an ox, that, by my guess, would weigh forty stone English weight, 14lb. to the stone, requires as much marsh, as amounts to the portion of two English acres to fatten him; but then there will be a little food afterwards for the farmers cows. The Swedish farmers hire them at about twelve shillings English an acre, and reckon them more profitable, than their arable lands.

It is twelve miles from Ragelin to Gottenburg, which I rode in the afternoon, but my baggage was not to arrive, till the next day at night. In this journey, which I have taken to Gottenburg, I have reason to praise the punctuality, civility, and cleanliness, of the Swedish innkeepers. I have not received, in any instance, the least reason for complaint; they are very expeditious in getting ready post-horses, and postillions, who are never saucy or disobliging, although they live in a free country; for, in such respects, I have generally found it more agreeable travelling in kingdoms, under an arbitrary government: our own country, however, is another exception, for in the world, there is not such another to travel in; and besides,

besides, the infinite superiority of our roads, to those of any other country, makes it, beyond all comparison, more delightful; from the little I have as yet seen of the roads in Sweden, I doubt, I shall not have much reason to praise them, they seem to have scarcely any repairs.

Gottenburg is a very considerable sea port town, and from its situation, much exceeds any other in Sweden for trade; yet there is not so much commerce carried on here, as at Stockholm; formerly, Nordkopping exceeded it, but the establishment of the Swedish East India company here, has been of very great advantage to it, by bringing much other trade; so that now it is the second port in Sweden. They have here large magazines and warehouses, with an exceeding good dock for building, repairing, and cartening their ships. There are also at Gottenburg several tolerable churches; and among other buildings, the arsenal and the town-house are pretty considerable. The commerce of this place is very thriving, and the number of ships, belonging to it, have, for these twenty years last past, been much upon the increase. Indeed, trade seems to be getting much more amongst these northern nations, than formerly. At Gottenburg,

burg, I purchased a Swedish chaise and a pair of horses; they told me, I should find four necessary, but I thought, I might as well trust to post ones for a pair, for the sake of having a guide in the postillion. The 30th, in the morn, I set off and breakfasted at Bahus, about eight miles distance, which is situated on an island in a river; it is a romantic place, and pretty well fortified for Sweden, which does not abound with very regular fortifications.

From Bahus, I expected to reach Lidköping by night, but was disappointed; they told me, the distance was only seven and thirty miles, but, instead of which, it is more than fifty; I was therefore forced to set up my bed at a village, twenty miles short, where I met with very civil, decent people; but the landlord's chief dependance was on his husbandry, for he was a pretty considerable farmer: his house stands on a rising ground, commanding a good view of lake Wener, which is a vast water, above fourscore miles long, and in some places, near forty broad. He shewed me, from his door, all his farm, which is to be seen very distinctly on the side of his hill; with some difficulty, and with the help of my interpreter, I made a near guess at the measure
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of it, and judge his farm about one hundred acres English, and for which he pays a rent of two and twenty pounds. He generally has twelve acres of wheat, and thrice as many of oats, with twenty of the Swedish turnip, which is a very large, hardy plant, that grows under ground like a turnip, with broad spreading leaves from it, of the colour of cabbage leaves; this plant, my landlord informed me, never was hurt by the sharpest severity of their winters, and they depended on it, principally, for the winter sustenance of the cattle. I further found, that one acre of it was sufficient to carry three head of cattle through the winter, with the assistance of some straw and hay, if the crop was very good; but if only moderate, not more than two head, and that many acres would not serve more than one. That they made their land very fine, to receive the seed, and generally dunged it well; if the seed comes up too thick, they thin the plants; but if it comes up regular, and as it should, they then leave it. I asked, if they bestowed no culture in hoeing or cleaning, while the crop was growing; he said only weeding by hand. They reckon the culture of it a good preparation for oats, of which they get fine crops; and, as well as I could

could make out, about three quarters and half from an English acre. Wheat they have only attempted to cultivate of late years, but have had much better success, than they had expected. He told me, all their farmers now had every year a field of wheat, provided their lands were not of a very inferior sort: the crops, generally, yield about two quarters an acre, seldom more. The soil here is various, but in general, the fields they plough, are of a reddish loam on clay or flints, and in ploughing, carries a good countenance. Their favourite soil is a sort of reddish loam; when about eight inches deep, on a regular bed of rock, then they say, they are sure of getting corn enough; but what this is owing to, I cannot conjecture. In respect to their cattle, they have small oxen and cows, but the latter yield well in milk, and they reckon them, the most profitable animal they keep; there are some sheep here, but not in great numbers; they do not think them advantageous, unless they have a very large range for them to wander about; their herds are fed in summer in meadows, which are generally the bottom grounds between the hills, and fertile enough.

The 31st, I reached Lidkopping by breakfast; the road was very bad, but this ugly circumstance was made amends for, by the amazing fine views I commanded, most part of the way, of Lake Wener; this country is, in general, beautifully romantic; the hills are not awfully great, and the vales are numerous, so that the whole is well diversified. From Lidkopping to Mariestadt, is about twenty miles, which I reached so late in the afternoon that I could not venture further that night. This line of country is yet more beautiful than the former, for the lake enlarges itself all the way, till you can scarcely see the opposite shore; and at Mariestadt, there is one way, in which nothing can be discerned with the naked eye, but sky and water. The creeks and promontories also, which break the shore of the lake in this line, make it remarkably striking. In the evening, I repeated my enquiries, upon the subject of their husbandry, and I found, that in the neighbourhood of Mariestadt were several gentlemens seats, who cultivated considerable tracks of land themselves, and that some of them had to the amount of six hundred acres; that they did it by means of bailiffs, and paid the peasants for all the work, except what was performed by servants,

vants kept in their houses. Much wheat is cultivated here, but all is sown in the spring, if it may be so called, for summer succeeds the winter, so quickly, that their spring is of very short duration; they are equally fond of the Swedish turnip here, as their neighbours, with whom I lodged last night; but the account is something different, for they allot an acre of it to every head of cattle, they winter, but which feeds their hogs besides. Swine is a principal article with them, they make a great profit by keeping large herds in the low grounds, on the banks of the lake, where they get wild roots in such abundance, that great numbers are maintained on them, without any cost to their owners. The crop of oats here is generally about three quarters and an half per acre; wheat, in general, not more than two; but some good lands have been known to yield four; they know not of any other husbandry here, than fallowing for that grain.

June the first, I set out for Ruscog, at thirty miles distance, but from the badness of the roads did not get there before night. The country is much the same, as what I had passed; they were manuring many fields in it for sowing with Swedish turnips, which

are an article of culture, that increases much among them ; some farmers, with whom I conversed, informed me, that they enabled them to keep large stocks of cattle in winter, which they fed in the summer on the marshes ; a system, which is more profitable, they assert, than any other ; keeping great numbers of cattle, they think, is much more advantageous, than growing corn ; which I did not comprehend clearly, as grain sells well among them ; but they explained it very well to me by saying, that without the assistance of their cattle in raising dung, they should be able to grow, but very poor crops of corn ; that their soil was not so rich, as in some provinces, where they could get wheat upon land, that had never been dunged. Their speaking of dunging reminded me of enquiring after their manures ; and I found, their favourite one is wood ashes, of which they lay great quantities on heaps, mixing it very often with earth. Wood is so very plentiful among them, that it is of very small value ; and their way of reducing wood land to corn land, is, to agree with their landlord for such a quantity of waste wood land ; then they cut it down, and grub up all the roots, and reduce every thing to ashes, of which they get so vast a quantity,
that

that one acre will yield enough to manure not only itself, but also two others of their old land; and they esteem this method so much, that if the land is well covered with wood, they will give from five to seven pounds sterling per acre, for liberty to use it in this manner; and, after two years, a regular rent per acre for the land besides.

Ruscog is a small place, prettily situated upon the banks of a branch of Lake Werner; but it has not any thing, that is worthy of notice. Here, as well as at all the places I stopped at, near the lake, I feasted on tench, which they have of a fine colour and admirable flavour, weighing from one pound to three; the fresh water fish of all sorts are so good and plentiful in Sweden, that they make travelling wonderfully agreeable. It is like carrying a fine fish-pond with us, wherever we go.

The second, I got to Orebro, the distance thirty six miles, through a country, that appears to be, in general, pretty good and fertile. There are many tracks, I passed, which are in cultivation, and the soil good; most of the vales are either meadow or rich arable. Orebro is a small town, situated on another lake, which is a pretty one, and hath several woody islands in it, that make

a beautiful appearance. Here also I had fine fish, and at a very cheap rate; indeed every thing is very low priced, quite from Bahus hither. All the line of country, from Gottenburg to Orebro, is tolerably peopled; the villages are not thick, but I have gone through many countries, where they are much thinner, and you pass, in no part of it, for many miles over continued tracks of heaths and moors without any cultivation; on the contrary, the vales, between the hills, are generally in culture, and where the land is tolerable, there are not many spots without some farms and cottages near them.

On the third, I got to Arosia; the distance is forty seven miles, through a country, similar to that, I had passed, but amazingly intersected with branches and creeks of Lake Meler. I dined at a little inn, a single house, about half way, where I had, according to custom, excellent fish; you dine very well in this country, wine included, for five shillings, and upon dishes, which would come to fifteen or twenty at the inns between London and Bath, exclusive of wine. I was, at first, troubled in this journey with their cookery, for they fried the fish in grease, not butter, and seemed to have an admirable hand at converting a good dish into a most
beastly

beastly one. My man Martin, who had travelled with me through France and Italy, and had made four campaigns, was not at a loss in the science of cookery, and took upon himself the direction of the kitchen, while it was employed in providing for my table; by which means, I was always sure, not only to find good fish, but cookery equally excellent; and this is a circumstance, which I would advise every gentleman to remember, who undertakes the tour of Sweden.

I arrived at Upsal on the fourth, the distance is 24 miles; the country, I passed, was much cut by branches of the Lake Meler, but the husbandry was rather better, than what I had travelled through before. They gain two quarters and an half of wheat per acre, and four quarters of oats; they sow some barley, which is a grain very little cultivated in Sweden, and of which, I had before received no intelligence; they sow it, instead of oats, after their turnips, ploughing twice for it, and the crops, they get, amount sometimes to four quarters per acre, seldom less than three; but I should observe, that the soil, upon which they sow it, is their best, and, at the same time, very well manured. Some peasants, I conversed with, said,

they did not like barley, they thought, oats paid them much better; but they called it a new fashion, and said, that some of their great farmers liked it for that reason. But the truth seemed rather to be, that these peasants disliked it, because it was not an old one. Relative to the winter food of cattle, they informed me, that the most approved method, they had among them, was to take up their turnips in September, to cut off the tops and the roots, and to stow them in caverns in the sides of their hills, for winter use. I said, that the farmers, with whom I had conversed, on my journey from Gottenburg, had not mentioned any such practice. They replied, that they did not use the method, but that it was, nevertheless, much the best. They allow two beasts to an acre of turnips, with assistance from straw, &c. They manure their meadows with wood ashes, gained in the manner, I mentioned above, and assured me, that they found it much the most advantageous way: Three acres of meadow will fatten a large ox.

Upsal is a considerable town, on a branch of the Lake Meler; there is nothing in it so worthy of notice, as the famous Sir Charles Linnæus, the head of the university here; and

and whose fame in natural history is as great, as that of Charles the Twelfth for his victories. I had no letters of recommendation to this celebrated professor, and what was worse, I was no botanist. However, I thought he would not slight my compliment, if I designed to wait on him, as a mere English gentleman, travelling in Sweden through curiosity. Accordingly, I wrote a card to him, signifying myself a gentleman from England, on his travels through Sweden, who was so unfortunate, as not to have any letters of recommendation to him, but who would be extremely happy in being admitted to his conversation. I had a most polite and obliging answer, requesting my company to spend the evening that night, at his apartments in the college, which I obeyed with very great readiness. The old man received me with much civility, and kindness; he enquired my motives for visiting Sweden; a country, he said, so much slighted by the generality of travellers. I told him, that was the circumstance, which had most engaged me in the design of travelling through it; for I had passed through France, Italy, and the best part of Germany, long ago; but that finding the accounts of the northern kingdoms of Europe, so very imperfect

perfect and deficient in the most essential parts, I had a strong curiosity to make myself personally acquainted with them. He commended me for the idea, but said, that I should not find much matter of entertainment in Sweden, if I travelled in pursuit of fine buildings, pictures, and statues. To which I answered, that these were not the objects of my enquiries, nor of my curiosity; that I found entertainment in making myself acquainted with the agriculture of the countries, I passed through, with the various practices of the peasants in the management of their cattle and crops; also, in the state of manufactures, and the success of commerce, and that I thought the manners of the people of a country, more worthy attention than fine statues; and that their customs pleased me much better than pictures. Your sentiments, Sir, said he, are very rational; and if such objects can give you any pleasure, you may find entertainment in Sweden. I suppose, you have made natural history your study? This was a question, which hurt me not a little; however, I owned my ignorance, with the best grace I could, but regretted it at the same time. Sir Charles shewed himself by the succeeding part of the conversation, to be as polite as learned; for
finding

finding, that I was no naturalist, he conversed on such matters, as he found, I had made enquiries after, and particularly of agriculture. He gave me several opportunities of making enquiries of him, concerning some points in the husbandry of the country, about which I want to be informed. I asked him concerning the advantages of the Swedish turnip, and the account, he gave me, was as follows: It is a plant, that came to us originally from Lapland; observe said he, I mean relative to common cultivation, for if I speak of it botanically, I should name it, as the production of many other countries; our farmers had it from thence; from thence, it spread by degrees through the northern provinces of the kingdom, and was found of more use, than all other winter plants, put together; the great property of it, is resisting the sharpest and most continued frosts, which we have in this country; so that I have myself known the soil of a field of them, frozen a yard deep, and yet the crop not to suffer the least damage. Besides this, cattle are remarkably fond of them, and will thrive on them better, than on any other winter plant, with which our farmers are acquainted. It is further a very hardy plant, respecting cultivation, not requiring
any

any attention, that is beyond the ability of the common farmers to give. It loves a deep, rich soil, and pays the farmer well for dung; the crops of it are sometimes very considerable. I have seen crops of them, even in the mountains of Dalecarlia, in which the plants, one with another, weighed four pounds, and some single plants rose up so high, as twelve pounds; and I have no doubt, if the farmers would give better tillage, while they are growing, but they would rise, on an average, to eight or nine pounds. They reckon an acre, sufficient to maintain, during winter, from one to four head of cattle; but you should observe, that this variation is not so much from difference of produce, as that of management; many of the farmers giving their cattle but a certain allowance of the turnip a day, and the other part of their food is either straw or hay; and some of the most judicious among them, have assured me, that the cattle do not thrive, or keep themselves fat and well, in proportion to the quantity of green meat they have, for very many will do as well, with a stated allowance, made up with eating as much straw, as they like, as if they had nothing but turnips; and which is a point very material to be known among them, and, indeed, in all other
other

other countries, where a similar economy is carried on. One of the greatest advantages of the culture of this root is, its being as good a preparation for corn, as a fallow of mere ploughing, which is an object of infinite importance; but the farmers do not give it such fair play, as they ought, for the culture they bestow, while it is growing, is only to pluck out the weeds by hand; whereas they ought to hoe them, as they do turnips in England; but a better plan would be on your countryman Tull's principle, to horse hoe them in rows, by which means the ground would be much better pulverized.

The memoirs of the times have certainly told you, Sir, that, not many years ago, Sweden produced no wheat, and it might almost be said with truth, that the quantity, in her best provinces, was so small, that Livonia and Poland nearly supplied her; and much came also, in some years, even from England. Seeing this constant importation, I, among others, made representations to the government, to shew, that it was entirely through ignorance in our farmers, that they did not raise wheat enough for us, without the kingdom suffering such a continual drain of money. I was applied to for the means

means of bringing in the culture, and I recommended particularly, the reducing the importation of it by degrees, till it came to nothing, and which might be done, by proportioning duties upon it, and last of all, a prohibition; that small bounties should be distributed through all the provinces to those farmers, who entered most into the culture of it; and instructions sent them for conducting themselves. All this was executed at a very small expence; nor is it easily to be believed, how quickly they took to the culture of wheat; for having once found it, more profitable to them, than any other grain, and of a much readier market, they never afterwards failed of having a portion of their arable land under this crop. I should not have met with so ready a compliance, with the method I proposed, had it not been for an accidental event, which happened, just before I made the representations. Livonia and Poland had almost lost their crops for two successive years, which made this kingdom principally depend on England; and from whence our import had been very regular, but in the last of those years, you laid an embargo upon your corn, and we were compleatly left in the lurch, insomuch that the Dutch brought us wheat over from the

the Mediterranean. Seeing, that we had no regular dependancy, even on England, gave a greater weight to my memorials, than they would otherwise have had, and I question, if I should have succeeded, at least, of many years, if the prohibition of exportation had not happened in England, as it did.

But at present, Sir, we experience very few years, in which we do not raise wheat enough for our own consumption; and the farmers find it as profitable to them, as it is in other countries, though our crops are not so plentiful, in general, as in warmer climates. Upon our best lands, and in sheltered situations, we have sometimes very fine crops; and I believe, you will, in most places, find, that they raise from one and an half to three quarters upon an acre; but they never sow it, except in the best fields of a farm; and our farms have not all of them land suitable to the culture of it, oats are with us the most general crop, though there are large products of pease, but especially of beans, gained in some of the provinces.

The article, in which you will find them most deficient, is grasses; very few of the farmers know any thing of the artificial grasses, except clover, and not a twentieth part of the kingdom know even that; in
their

their meadows they are extremely careless of the herbage, not knowing it to be a matter of any consequence; but are very well satisfied, if they find a large growth, no matter of what. Hence results many losses to them, their cattle understand the point much better; and if they could choose, would, but unfortunately, they must eat, what they are turned into or starve; in some instances, however, they will freely eat of herbs very pernicious to them. For want of better understanding this part of their business, our peasants very often find, their herd deceive them, and yield very little milk, when they expect a great deal; or prove lean, at a time, that they ought to have been fat. The low grounds in Sweden are generally converted to pasturage, and many of them are little better than bogs and marshes; but which, properly drained and cultivated, would turn out most advantageous meadow, and yet you will see great tracks of such in a very waste condition.

To this I remarked, that it was no ways surprizing, when there were such numerous, unimproved wastes, even in my own country; more still in France, and numerous ones in the best climates, richest soils, and freest governments in Europe. This, I observed,

observed, was a most remarkable fact, and well worthy of his reflection.

It is not so remarkable, replied this gentleman, as at first sight it appears. Improvements of waste lands make but a very slow progress in any country, where they are the property of private persons; but what an amazing figure do such works make in America, where the waste is open for every man to take as much as he pleases in fee simple, paying only moderate fines? But where wastes belong to private persons, and make part of the estates of princes, nobles, and gentlemen, improvements must be slow for many reasons; such persons have generally methods enough of spending their fortunes, without doing any good; they cannot afford, or, at least, they will not afford the necessary expenditure in buildings, inclosures, and other previous works, necessary to convert a waste into farms, for whoever will hire them. This method of doing the business must therefore necessarily be very slow. Besides, such persons are extremely tenacious of the rights, properties, jurisdiction, &c. of their wastes, and will very seldom give a man leave to do all these works for himself, with a perpetual lease, that he and his heirs for ever may be the better for his labours,

so that how, and by whom are wastes to be improved? It is evident, they can be done but very slowly; now and then a landlord, who happens to be a saving man, forms a new farm; accidentally too, a farmer will be at the expence of improvement with a tenure, of but a moderate length; and some gentlemen, that have wastes very near their residence, are induced to improve them, because of their vicinity; it is thus, that, by slow degrees, wastes are improved; and it must strike every person, that these causes are very weak, compared with the vast extent of them in most countries. Great progress will no where be made, without laws, being particularly enacted, to force proprietors to grant leases of wastes, to whoever will be at the expence of improving them.

The way, in which, Sir Charles accounted for the existence of so much waste land in every country, pleased me much; as it is the only one, in which I ever heard a satisfactory account given. Upon my asking him concerning the general state of husbandry at present in Sweden, whether it was in an improving way in most particulars. He replied:

The best, and indeed, the only way of judging of that, with any degree of precision,

sion, is, by attending to the variations in the value of land; we have found, that, in Sweden, land in general has increased in price gradually for above forty years, and for the last twenty years, in a more rapid manner than before; this has been owing to our raising many commodities at home, which we formerly bought of our neighbours; among which, wheat (as I mentioned before) is the chief; and it is also owing very much to the wise encouragement, that trade and manufactures have received of late years, which has brought much money into the country, and given a new value to every thing. Now, Sir, land could not sell better than formerly, without money being more plenty, or our husbandry being better; for the value of the soil depends not only on the quantity of money in the country, but also on the value of the products, and they are affected only by variations in cultivation. But, at the same time, that I am clear, our agriculture is in general much improved, I am also clear, that we are many, very many degrees from the perfection, to which we might easily with a spirited attention arrive: and this we should do, if we attended more to certain points of encouragement, which would be easy to give our husbandry.

Upon my mentioning the pleasure it would give me to hear his sentiments upon this head, he very readily went on in the following manner :

Inclosing is pretty well known in Sweden, but not practiced so much by any means, as it ought to be. In this, our best husbandmen agree, and the practice of England confirms the idea, to be the only means of having any valuable improvements carried on effectively ; but our landlords and farmers are equally averse to any expences, beyond those certain ones of the day, which they cannot escape ; now this can only be remedied by the legislative power, which ought to oblige all proprietors to inclose their fields in some substantial manner, and to enable them, at the same time, to raise their rents upon their tenants, sufficiently to pay good interests for the sums expended ; and I would have them limited, not to make larger inclosures than one hundred acres. This measure would very much promote the good husbandry of the kingdom.

Another, which, I think, would also be necessary, would be to appoint inspectors of the husbandry of the kingdom. One might be appointed to every large province, and one might inspect two or three small ones ; whose business
should

should be merely the viewing the lands of every distinct farmer in his province, taking an account of his crops, under every denomination, the number of acres, the manure, the cattle of every sort, the woods, forests, wastes, and to whom they all belong, with the number of inhabitants of all classes and ages. Memorandums should be made of those farmers, who seemed to excel in any branch of their art, and also of the comparative degree of such excellence. In consequence of these accounts, I would have premiums distributed to all farmers, who excelled; and the best, that could be devised, would be sums of money given, or, in cases, where larger sums were requisite, to lend it at low interest. It is surely of very great consequence, that an industrious peasant, who would cultivate his lands better, and in larger quantity, had he more money; it is surely, I say, of great consequence to the nation, that such a man should have the money, he wants, even, if it was raised by a general tax to give it him.

But further, small sums, so disposed of, would have greater effects, than to the mere amount of the good they did to the individuals, for they would soon raise a great emulation among all the farmers and peasants in

the kingdom ; most of them would use their utmost endeavours to gain the like premiums, and, as many would be distributed every year, the whole kingdom would, in a few years, reap the good consequences of them.

By this means also, the government would discover the real state and condition of every province in the kingdom ; it would know the degree of merit, its husbandry possessed, the proportion of the cultivated to the uncultivated lands, the increase or decrease of the farmer, the causes, to which such variations could be attributed, and, in a word, every circumstance of real importance in the domestic œconomy of the nation. I need not surely observe, that such knowledge would be of infinite use to a statesman, or an administration, in guiding them to such measures, as were certain of remedying, whatever evil was discovered. In most of the kingdoms of Europe we see laws, ordinances, edicts, &c. promulgated, with an intention of favouring agriculture and population ; but how few of them are attended with any striking effect ? This is owing to their beginning at the wrong end ; they attempt the cure, before they know the disease ; which in politicks, as well as medicine, is acting diametrically

diametrically contrary to the system of experience. Such an annual survey of the kingdom as I have mentioned, would give them a clear insight into every evil, its nature, and its cause; the remedy then would be easy and sure, and they would further discover, where improvements were possible, and practicable; where they would pay the nation, nobly for the expence, and in what manner, they would be most advantageously undertaken. If the benefits of such a plan are compared with the expences, they will be found of infinite superiority. Is it not astonishing, therefore, that we should not see something of this performed in some of the enlightened nations of Europe, who, from many circumstances in their conduct, evidently think, in general, that too much care cannot be taken to encourage agriculture and the useful arts?

This discourse of the learned professor charmed me, his sentiments were so strongly just, so extremely apposite; and, at the same time, I think, I may add original, at least, as far as my reading carries me, that it appears to me astonishing, that there should be so many nations in Europe in the predicament here described, and yet none of them, in which such a measure has been executed,

or even proposed. Which shews how much the objects of the greatest importance are neglected; while measures, so easily executed, would put any government readily in the way of discovering all the evils, which affect the agriculture of a country, and at once enable them to apply the requisite remedies; and let them, at the same time, into the proper method of applying encouragements, so as they may have the greatest effect; is it not astonishing, that all this should remain every where unexecuted!

This great man gave his opinion also of several other points, which would be of great effect in promoting the agriculture of Sweden; all of which appeared to be strictly founded in a deep and comprehensive knowledge of the state and interests of his country; but some of them being rather refined, and the conversation not being in English, but in French, I did not sufficiently recollect the train of his argument, so as to venture a repetition of them. Upon the whole, I never had a more agreeable or instructive evening; for, besides our conversation, Sir Charles Linnæus shewed me part of his cabinet of natural history, to which every part of the world has contributed amply. It was not without reluctance, that I took my leave
of

of him ; nor had Upsal much worthy of notice besides.

I left Upsal the 5th, and arrived at Stockholm the same day, the distance is five and thirty miles ; the road runs on the banks of the Lake Meler, and, from the high grounds, commands some very beautiful views of the innumerable islands, which are thickly scattered through that lake. The country, I passed, is, in general, very well cultivated, there are many enclosures, and much arable land. Near the city, the land appears to be very rich, and the country very populous ; for the villages, farms, and gentlemens seats are very numerous. I remarked, they choose, their situations for such, upon the sides of hills, facing the south, and, with much taste, seem, in general, fond of a view of the lake.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

*Stockholm—State of Agriculture—Arts—Com-
merce—Government—Factions, &c.*

STOCKHOLM, which is the capital of the kingdom, is a finer city, than I expected to see, from the descriptions I had received of it. The situation is very beautiful and picturesque, being built on seven or eight islands and rocks in the great Lake Mælar, which gives it some resemblance of Venice; and this situation, like that of Venice, is such a security to it, that no other fortifications have been thought necessary. It is very well built, the streets, in general, are broad, strait, and regular; and the public buildings are, many of them, great ornaments to the place. Among these, the King's palace demands the first attention; this is an old building, and therefore irregular in parts, but it forms a square, and is all raised of stone. It is within a citadel, but the fortifications could not do much in defence of the town; and it is, besides, commanded by

by an adjoining hill. Considering, that the palace serves for many public uses, besides the King's residence, it is not only mean, but small; all the rooms of the first and second floor, are used for private meetings of the Senate, and the Courts of Judicature; so that the apartments of the royal family are three pair of stairs high, and some of them four.

The Senate-house, where the public meetings are, is a very regular and fine edifice, making the best figure of any in the town.

The houses of the nobility are not very magnificent, but some of them are handsome, others, large and commodious. The Arsenal is a large building, but by no means kept well stored: the royal stables, and the great hospital, also make some figure; the bridge of boats, which is 100 yards long, and which, they shew, with some degree of vanity, is a paltry substitute. Among the churches, the principal are St. Nicholas, St. Mary's, St. Catharine's, St. Clare's, St. John's and St. Olaus's. The King's chapel is more decorated, than any of them.

The city carries on the chief trade of the kingdom; the harbour will admit of four hundred great ships, and above five hundred small ones, at the same time, which
might

might all ride in the utmost safety; and they have a quay for the delivery and taking in of goods, near a mile long; and this, I think, is the pleasantest and most chearful part of Stockholm. There is a face of business and activity upon the public quay, which, in a town, is far more lively, than the perpetual rattle of coaches. But notwithstanding it is a place of great trade, and the harbour perfectly secure, yet there are difficulties in getting in and out, which are a cramp upon their commerce. There are numerous islands in the lake, between Stockholm and the sea, and these make the course so zigzag, that several winds are necessary to carry them in and out; and which is much the worse for their having no tides, which would greatly assist the navigation; besides this, they are quite stopped up with ice, four months in the year.

Having spent a couple of days in viewing the city (being quartered at the Crown inn, which I found a very good and reasonable one) I thought it time to wait upon Baron Miftler, with the letter, which the Count de Smikelane gave me. Accordingly, on the 7th, I paid my devoirs to him; I found him a middle aged man, remarkably lively and chearful, very well acquainted with the different

rent courts of Europe, having spent many years in travelling; he converses fluently in English, and almost without hesitation, but explains himself, in case of it, in French. He has a large house, extremely well furnished in the French and English manner; indeed, most of the things, either for use or ornament, came from England, France, or Italy. He complained, that the Swedish artists were not yet formed, but hoped, they would, by and by, be equal to their neighbours.

My friend the Count had let him very well into the design of my journey; he informed him, that I was on my travels through the northern kingdoms, with design, to gain a better knowledge of their commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and arts, than books could give me; also, to view the face of the country, and that I had a curiosity to become acquainted with the manners of the inhabitants; that I had, some years ago, travelled through the southern parts of Europe, but was now desirous of going to see, what very few travellers ever thought worth their notice; and lastly, that he had recommended me to him, as a person, as proper as any in Sweden, to do honour to that kingdom.

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The Baron read the letter with much attention with me, after having run it over, before I saw him. He asked me significantly, if I came in any public capacity or business. I understood him, and replied, by no means; that I was a private gentleman in England, totally unconnected with government, and was travelling merely to satisfy my own curiosity; that the objects of my enquiries might make him suppose such a thing, but it seemed a satire upon the general aim of travellers, that none should be supposed to make useful objects their entertainment, as well as frivolous ones. This, he replied, was a very just remark, and asked my pardon for putting the question. He then entered very freely and liberally into a conversation, on the present state of his country; in which, however, we were interrupted by some visitors, to whom he introduced me. Afterwards, I waited on him thrice, and he gave me several accounts, some of them in writing, which I found valuable, as they let me into a pretty consistent idea of the present trade, manufactures, &c. of Sweden. From these authorities, I have drawn up the following account; which, I believe, will be found much nearer the truth of the present

present state of that kingdom, than any, that are to be met with in books.

The trade of Sweden, and, indeed, every thing else in the kingdom, was left in a most miserable condition at the conclusion of the war with Muscovy, immediately after the death of Charles XII. Such a languor succeeded, that had not much attention been given to improvement, and a change in the constitution ensued, it would have taken, at least a century, to have recovered, and perhaps, much more. Many of the wounds then received, are not yet healed; there are tracks of country, in many of the provinces, which once were well peopled, that are at this day deserts; and the ravages of the Russians destroyed some valuable copper mines, which are not yet recovered. Within these twenty years, much has been done to spread improvements; so that the country wears a fine face; but all this is not to be called a creation of new industry, much of it is only a renovation of that, which we long ago enjoyed.

The modern improvers, who have pushed most of the advantageous laws, which have been made, of late years, in favour of commerce, &c. had one principal aim, which was certainly very meritorious; it was to
force

force the Swedes, either to manufacture for themselves, or to go without the commodities, formerly imported from abroad; many laws were made with this view; and which, at last, ended in an almost general prohibition to foreign fabrics. This was very well meant, but it was driving too fast, and has had some consequences of a complexion by no means agreeable. It is true, several manufactories were established in different parts of the kingdom, to enable the people to perform for themselves, and some of them succeeded well, but it is a business of much longer time, to make a people a manufacturing nation. The attempt to do it at once, was not only unsuccessful, but was attended with several evils to the whole kingdom. Sweden imported, it is true, large quantities of manufactures, but then she paid for all of them, or, least, for much the greatest part, with the products of her soil; such as copper, iron, timber, ships, flax, hemp, pitch, tar, furs, skins, &c. so that the nobleman, who dressed himself in French or English cloths; his wife, who wore French and Italian silks; and all, who expended their revenue in any foreign import, did, at the same time, encourage the lower classes of the people, and indeed assist the whole

whole state, by exporting the above products, in proportion to the goods, so imported and worn. The legislature falsely imagined, that foreigners could not do without those products, they bought of Sweden, and paid for with their manufactures ; they supposed, they would buy, in the same proportion, and pay for them with money ; but this was at best a delusion, for other nations knew their interest as well as the Swedes, and immediately transferred a vast portion of their trade to Norway and Russia ; the consequence of which has been, that the copper and iron works, in every province in the kingdom, are discontinued, for want of the old demand ; and a great number of hands, once employed in the timber trade, have, ever since stood still. That this representation has much truth in it, appears from several articles of the prohibition, being taken off ; which shews, that the legislature themselves thought, they had gone too far, when they began in their private estates to feel the ill effects of it ; but the act was done, and the mischief was irremediable ; the trade was gone, so that the partial revocation was of no use. This has made them redouble their activity in establishing manufactures, which may, in time, recover the blow, by varying the for-

mer advantage; but it must be a work of some years.

Upon the whole, however, when we read in some modern treatises, what great things are doing, in encouraging all sorts of useful undertakings, we must not carry the amount to the account of an addition, as in the case of Denmark, and some other countries, but, on the contrary, consider much of them, as regaining lost ground.

Trade now flourishes in Sweden, the people are very attentive to it, and some of the laws, that have been made to encourage it have had good effect. The shipping, belonging to the kingdom, is much increased in the last thirty years; they export more of their commodities in their own bottoms, than formerly; which has, in every respect, proved a very advantageous thing to them. All their shipping, and every article of naval stores, are their own product; so that an increase of it is gaining one of the most advantageous markets in the world. Indeed, a very considerable article of trade with them, is building ships for sale; in which articles, the French and Dutch are the best purchasers. The former, it is well known, once bought a fleet of nine sail of men of war of the line of them, at one time: and the Dutch

Dutch are regular purchasers of some merchant ships ; but the chief increase of their ship building has been for themselves, in consequence of an increase of their foreign trade, which, it is supposed, is now, on comparison with what it was thirty years ago, as five to three, tonnage reckoned.

The establishment of the East India commerce has been of much consequence to them, in this article of ship building, and, indeed, to all the other branches of commerce in the kingdom ; for East India goods were before bought with cash, without bringing in any advantages by ship building, or the employment of seamen ; but now the government has obliged the company to export to the Indies a given quantity of Swedish manufactures ; all which exportation is clear profit, besides the circumstances mentioned above. This establishment of an East India company in Sweden, employed the speculation of all the trading part of Europe, who pronounced it a visionary scheme, and one, which could not possibly answer ; but experience has now told them, that nothing was less just, than this condemnation, for the whole kingdom of Sweden is supplied by it, and there is a pretty considerable quantity of India goods

exported to Poland, also some to Germany, and a few to Russia; all which are very great and considerable advantages, compared with the time, when they themselves bought their whole home consumption of the English and Dutch.

Another scheme of trade, which has been partly executed, though not entirely, is to import all their West India commodities in their own bottoms; this was not an easy matter to execute, for it is contrary to the laws of all the nations, that have colonies in that part of the world; but certain it is, that in spite of all obstacles of this sort, they do purchase large quantities of sugar, rum, &c. in the West India islands; and another channel, through which, they do this business, is through the Bahama islands, where they buy, from the account of Boston merchants, goods, which come from the English islands. This plan is not brought fully to bear, but if they get it to be quite successful, it will make a considerable deduction from the navigation of England, and add it to that of Sweden.

Building ships for foreigners has lately received a very laudable bounty of ten shillings a ton, which is one of the best considered measures, that could have been executed;

cuted; and if this bounty was to be raised so high, as to enable the Swedish ship carpenters to undersell the English and Dutch ones by many per cent. in their own yards, it would be a most political measure, and, perhaps, give the kingdom a more advantageous market, for most of her staple commodities, than all their other methods put together.

Among the manufactures, which they have been eager to establish, the principal is the woollen. They have, in coarse cloths, made some progress, and begin to work some, that are fine; an improvement, which has been much owing to their gaining a better breed of sheep from England, and which have been dispersed, with much assiduity, over most parts of the kingdom. Their own wool was a great impediment in their way; for it was of so bad and coarse a texture, that it would not do, even for coarse cloth, without being mixed with that of Poland; for these purposes, they import great quantities from that kingdom; and it is very well for them, that they have a neighbour so little knowing in her own interest, as to permit the exportation of her raw products, to be wrought up by other nations; not, however, that the Poles do not understand their own interests, but they have the curse of

such a constitution, that nothing for the real advantage of the country can go forward for half an hour. By means of Polish wool, mixed with the worst of their own, the Swedes make tolerable coarse cloths, and other fabricks; and the best, they import from Poland, mixed with the best of their own, makes a finer cloth, that sells well at home, and precludes the import of any, but the finest of all, worn by the nobility and gentry of considerable fortunes. Their manufacture of the coarse sorts is so enlarged by degrees, that they have, for some years, exported small quantities of it to Poland; which shews, how far they have been able to carry their point.

Besides these woollen fabricks, which are in a way of proving considerable enough to stop totally all importation in time, they have also established some of linen, but these are not yet advanced so far, as the former; they make large quantities of a coarse sort, which sells well among the common people; but all the higher classes of inhabitants use that, which comes England, Holland, or Germany. Preventing this importation is a favourite object with them at present, but the best judges of their trade think, they will never be able to effect it.

Much

Much the greatest manufactories in Sweden are those of hard ware. They work and cast their copper and iron into many forms; and make of them a great variety of implements, utensils, and materials for manufacturing, such as bars and plates of copper and iron, various sorts of wire, great guns, and numerous other articles in the foundery way. The number of mines of copper and iron in the kingdom is very great, and the forges, that work constantly, notwithstanding the decrease explained above, form the most considerable employment of this sort in the nation. They export vast quantities of iron annually, for which England, Holland and France are their best customers; but the English pay them a balance of trade, amounting to some hundred thousand pounds annually, of which iron and timber are the principal articles, they take; whereas, the French pay them in nothing, but wines, brandies, and manufactures. Formerly, she brought great quantities of paper; but the Swedes now supply themselves nearly, with all they use, except of the finer sorts. Of all the articles of their trade, iron and timber are the most considerable; and the best politicians among them are strongly of opinion, that these articles, being of the most

certain dependance, such as foreign nations can least do without, and such, as are most natural, in all the operations concerning them to their own people, that, for these reasons, they ought, principally, to be encouraged. Much has of late years been done in favour of these branches; for all the ranks of owners of lands have found, that the prosperity of them has the same influence in raising the rental and value of their estates, as improvements in agriculture itself; and for which reason, it is to be expected, that they will never neglect this part of their domestic œconomy.

Respecting the improvements, which have been made in their husbandry, taken at large, the grand article has been the preventing the importation of corn from abroad; high duties at first, and then a prohibition, have, in this instance, been attended with every effect, they could wish. By quick degrees, they introduced the culture of wheat in many provinces, which, before, had never thought of such an article of cultivation; and by taking several proper measures for encouraging the peasants, the point has been so thoroughly carried, that Sweden, at present, raises as much corn, as she consumes, and
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in some years, more; so that a small exportation has taken place, more than once.

In the debates, which have arisen at different times, among the members of the legislature, on this point of the advancement of husbandry, they have had, what may be called two parties among them; one, who were for establishing many rules for the particular instruction of peasants; premiums for their good conduct, for the procuring good farmers from other parts of Europe, to set examples; also the best implements and breeds of cattle; with some good workmen for draining of bogs, and bringing wastes into culture, at the expence of the legislature, by way of shewing, in what manner such works ought to be done. On the contrary, the other party strenuously urged, that the execution of all these minute ideas would prove very expensive, and particularly from being obliged to trust them to many people, and almost without controul. That besides this strong objection, the effects resulting could not be great or general, but would be confined to small spots, from which, it might be a century, before they would travel over half the kingdom; for this reason, they proposed to omit all such attempts, and confine themselves to general laws,

laws, which should affect the whole kingdom; such, for instance, as the prohibition of the importation of all foreign commodities, that could be raised at home, and particularly corn; that, when this law had taken full effect, then to give the improvement of another, offering bounties upon the exportation of various sorts of corn, and other commodities, to insure a quick sale at a good price, which would be, of all other measures, the most likely to induce the farmers to enlarge the culture of them. Other general laws should also be brought in aid, to exempt the improvers of waste lands from all taxes, tithes and public charges for life. Also, to introduce leases, in the tenures of lands, of long duration, with several other schemes of management, that had reference to the kingdom at large.

The legislature very wisely followed, neither of these proposals, in exclusion of the other, but gradually took from both, what appeared prudent and likely to be efficacious. They prohibited the importation of corn, upon the plan of one party; and they attended to the minutiae of agriculture, pursuant to the ideas of the other. Some laws were also made concerning leases, and improvers were exempted from taxes; but
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whether they will ever give a bounty on exportation is yet a question. It is the general opinion, that the plan is not dropped, and that the measure will be executed, whenever the quantity of corn, raised at home, sufficiently reduces the price. They seem to have this measure in idea, ready to apply as a remedy, for the price of corn falling too low, in case, it should so happen. This whole measure of prohibition, and a bounty on exportation, is copied from England; but if I may here speak in my own person, I do not perfectly comprehend the merit of such bounties, either in England or in Sweden; for these nations do not so much want to raise corn for an article of trade, as to enable them to feed a numerous people; and surely, it is of much more advantage to them to apply their corn to that necessary purpose, than to export it. The riches, arising from an increasing population, which is always the consequence of cheapness of provision, must be of far more importance to these kingdoms, than the money received for the corn. Indeed, the payment of bounties is not of any great moment, as they are paid by the subjects of the government.

I think, it cannot be doubted, but the most advantageous consumption of corn is,
that

that at home; for the people must increase pretty much in proportion to the low price of necessaries; we see, that the increase of population is prodigious in North America, and which must be attributed to the great ease of gaining land, which produces the necessaries of life; for which reason, a government, it should seem, ought to encourage the growth of corn, as much as possible, and also take every other step to render it as cheap as possible, for then the people will increase in proportion to it; an aim, much superior to the sums of money, which any trade can bring in. I remember to have read in tracts, printed in England some years ago, that the bounty, by giving a market, encouraged the farmers to raise more corn, than they would otherwise do; and this is the idea, which they have got in Sweden. But supposing it ever so true, will not an increasing people cause a greater consumption, and consequently make a market equally as good? Of what consequence is it to the farmer, whether he sells his wheat to a merchant at five shillings a bushel, or to a miller at the same price; so that this argument appears to me to be, begging the question.

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If the progress of agriculture in England, is quoted as a proof of the benefits, which have resulted from the bounty, it might have been replied, that that progress may not have been owing so much to this measure, as to the increase of people, proceeding from the great commerce and manufactories, which have been established, and which have been perpetually on the increase. It is for these reasons, that I am inclined to believe, the legislature of Sweden would act more for the benefit of their country, if they first encouraged the growth of corn, and then the consumption of it at home, which is best done by a collateral encouragement of arts, manufactures, commerce, and all other means of enriching the people; for the richer they are, the more numerous will they be, and, at the same time, the better able to purchase the farmer's corn. But this a subject of too much consequence to be decided on, from so slight an examination, it well deserves the attention of the most finished politicians. To return :

Encouragement has also been given in Sweden to several other things, particularly, in the making great roads, in improving some inland navigation, and also to the body of artists in the kingdom. Respecting roads, there

there are few kingdoms in Europe, where they are so bad, nor have the inhabitants been able, in any one province, even with the assistance they have received from the legislature, in enabling them to raise provincial taxes for that purpose, to do the work effectually. I am told, there are one or two great roads, pretty tolerably made, but it has been done by concentrating the whole expence of the province on that single point, and totally neglecting all others within it. Wherever I have travelled, except close to the metropolis, they are dangerously bad. Indeed, the good parts hold but a very little way out of Stockholm. There have been many deliberations in the Senate upon this evil; but the general opinion is, that it will never be remedied to any effect.

There are some rivers in different parts of the kingdom, which wanted only small obstructions to be removed, and which the government have enabled the people to render navigable by provincial taxes. There have been many proposals for increasing the number, but they go on very slowly in it, and never will make any great figure in this branch of improvement. Indeed, Sweden, wants exertions of this sort, less than any country, I know, for the whole kingdom is cut

cut and intersected in an amazing degree with lakes and rivers, and they have a sea coast, prodigiously extensive, so that there can scarcely be a production, which is not within reach of a navigation.

The encouragement, given to artists of various sorts, is much better adapted to the improvement and advantage of the nation. The Swedish artists, except in working rough timber and iron, are surprizingly deficient. The means, hitherto taken to remedy this evil, have been, by offering premiums, by regulating apprenticeships, and by procuring workmen from several countries ; but hitherto they have not performed much.

At the same time, that I procured this information, I made enquiries into the state of their public revenues and military power. The revenues of the kingdom are not at all improved, a piece of information, which much surprized me ; for I conceived, that all the improvements, of which I have been giving an account, must have much increased the revenue of individuals, and consequently, that of the public ; but the contrary is the case, and which is mostly owing to the evil, which I before noticed, attending the sudden prohibition of foreign manufactures ;

tures; for as I there set forth the ill consequences of depriving a vast number of people of an old market for their wood, iron, &c. the mischief was felt by the public income, as well as by those individuals; for the manufactures, which were then prohibited, paid considerable customs on importation, most of which were lost by that measure; so that the revenue, which, all taken together, amounted, before that measure, to about twelve hundred thousand pounds a year, scarcely reaches that sum at present, although, several new taxes, upon articles of luxury, have been since laid on. Several persons much experienced in the revenue assert, that it will be many years, before it recovers these strokes; that all the late improvements must have time to ripen into perfection, and spread a free and considerable circulation through the kingdom, before the national coffers will fill from them.

As to the military power of the Swedes, the change in the constitution, upon the death of Charles XII, sunk it entirely to the militia, except a few guards for the King's person; the former is entirely upon the old system, they are maintained by the farmers; but the number, which was once 60,000
men,

men, is not at present more than 42,000; however, they are very well disciplined, and sufficient for the defence of the kingdom against any force, that is likely to march against it. Sweden has nothing to fear, but from Russia; and whilst she leaves the conquered provinces peaceably in the hands of the Moscovites, which undoubtedly she will do, there is not any danger of their disturbing her possession of the remainder. The fleet of Sweden was once pretty considerable, amounting to forty good ships of war; but it is much declined. They could not send out to sea twenty sail of the line in good order, so that their power is not equal to that of Denmark by sea; nor that of Russia. These are circumstances, in which Sweden has been very remiss; it is saving money to a very bad purpose; for a nation, that wishes to be possessed of a considerable trade and commerce, should never neglect her marine, which ever was, and ever must be, essential to the preservation and well being of trade; and this shews, that the ideas of national improvement in Sweden are but crude, and not near brought to that degree of propriety, as to produce those new and great advantages, they want. Nothing is of so much importance to a trading power, as a mari-

time force; for all commerce without it, is precarious. France has made, for a century, immense efforts for raising a great trade, but all of them have been nearly unsuccessful, from her being more solicitous, in the same period, to keep up a formidable army, than a strong and well regulated navy, sufficient to guard her commerce in times of war. Nothing is so difficult to rear as a trade, that has been once ruined. It is a great mistake to suppose, that the present state of France contradicts this maxim; on the contrary, it confirms it; for France once possessed a flourishing trade, but it hath never arose again to its former prosperity, after once being demolished by a superior force at sea. The bringing home the product of colonies can scarcely be called trade, which may be done as well almost, without a navy, as with it; and which is evident in the course of the communication between France and her colonies, after the total destruction of her shipping by the English, in every war, from King William's time to the present.

But to return to Sweden, I must acknowledge, that hitherto, I have given the most favourable view of all the internal affairs of this kingdom. I have been minutely exact in specifying the information, I have received; but

but then, it came from some noblemen, who have been, among many others, very deep in political convulsions, that have harrassed the legislature of Sweden. All Europe well knows the political squabbles, which have much disgraced that country; accounts have been published in numberless Gazettes, which seem to have been designed, merely to represent the kingdom in the most deplorable situation. Whatever is circulated by a party, ever carries marks of prejudice and unfair representation; it may be replied, that I have my intelligence from a party, and therefore, that it equally wants the stamp of impartiality; and I agree, that this is, in some measure, the fact. But then, in extenuation, I say, that what I have principally reported, concerns facts alone; I have kept clear from giving party, or even national reflections, which always attend them; and another strong motive for my giving a representation of the affairs, or rather facts, concerning the present state of Sweden, from the information I received from some very respectable noblemen, is, that all the accounts, which I have lately read, seem to have been dictated by the opposite party, and to which I was the more inclined, from my setting out through the passage of the Sound, quite to

Stockholm. But the appearances of things carried no such marks of ruin and desolation, as foreign prints had given me to expect; I looked for nothing, but falling houses and neglected lands, deserted by emigrating inhabitants; but found nothing of this; from whence I was led to think, that these representations were something of the nature of those, which are so common in my own country, which, even in the most flourishing times, attempt to prove the kingdom in the high road to ruin. But let the reader carry with him the authority, on which I give my report, and remember, that, in these cases, which are certainly of real importance to be known by other powers, it is of consequence to be informed of the truth, and which can never be nearly guessed at, while only one side of the question is heard.

I have, with all the attention, of which I am master, avoided giving any particulars, relative to the present state of parties and politicks in this country. I think them to be no objects of an inquisitive traveller; they change every day; there is nothing stable in them; all intelligence, that concerns them, is full of prejudice and misinformation; nothing is so insipid to foreign readers, nothing

thing carries with it, so little useful intelligence, of which truth, we have, in England, many instances sufficiently strong; for how few speeches are made in the House of Commons, which would convey any useful facts to foreigners? Are not our news-paper and our pamphleteer complaints, which denounce immediate ruin upon the kingdom, with half the clamours of coffee-house politicians, are they not, I say, perfectly senseless and forgotten squabbles in a very few years? This I think, should guard every writer from venturing to mix such temporary politicks, with matters of lasting duration and real importance. Trade, manufactures, arts, and agriculture are interesting to all the world, but the sphere of personal politicks is extremely small.

It is for these reasons, that I pass entirely over the dismal factions, which, at present, disgrace the government of Sweden. I sincerely hope, that, in a few years, all parties will be endued with more moderation, and a general harmony arise from the experience of those evils, which faction causes to them all.

C H A P. VIII.

Journey from Stockholm to Oregrond—Hedemora—Description of the Country—Journey through the Province of Dalecarlia—Description of the Country—Its People—Manners—Husbandry—Employment.

I LEFT Stockholm the 11th, taking the road for Oregrond, the distance forty seven miles; which, with some difficulty, I reached by night, through a country, which ranks among the best, I have seen in Sweden, and in which, I observed several seats of the nobility and gentry very well built, with a good appearance of superior cultivation around them. Oregrond is a sea port on the gulph of Bothnia, tolerably well situated for trade, especially that of timber. From a hill near the town, is a most beautiful view of the gulph, with a great part of Finland on the other side; the islands of Aland spot the sea in a most picturesque manner. There were seven ships in the harbour, loading deals for Holland; they told me, the trade of this place has been but lately acquired,

quired, but that it increases, and will soon be considerable. From Oregrond, I set out the 12th for Hedemora, the distance of one hundred miles; and which, from the rockyness and dangerousness of the roads, took me up four days, so that I did not arrive there, before the 15th at night. The three first nights I set up my bed in the houses of peasants, in small villages, not passing through any towns: the country is very wild and various, hills and dales, mountains and rocks, bogs, rivers and lakes, all mixed thickly with a small quantity of cultivated and profitable land. All the peasants here are farmers, and most of them own the lands, they cultivate; their houses are very well built of wood, and covered with shingles, the materials, being to be had in the utmost plenty; they are much better, and more comfortable dwellings, than the cottages of mud, covered with thatch, which are so common in England. Their furniture is of their own manufacturing, consisting of very little more, than what they make of their friendly pines. All of them handle the saw and the axe with as much agility, as our peasants use the spade and the pickaxe, nor do they make bad or clumsy work; for their chairs, tables, beds, &c. are very decently cut and put to-

gether. They seem to be a very happy and contented people; each has his farm, divided into regular inclosures, around his house, and which the women almost totally cultivate, while the men are employed in cutting timber in the forests; for they have a considerable river, down which they float vast quantities. In their husbandry, these women seemed to be tolerably understanding; they do all the ploughing, which is not indeed laborious work, for I saw several ploughs going with a single ox in them, and others, with a single cow, and not of a large breed. They always fix their houses in the midst of a vale of dry soil, upon a rock, if they can choose, so that all the works of tillage are performed with great ease. They cultivate but very little wheat, though their land appears to be good enough for any product; oats, and a little barley, with a good many beans, are their chief crops; but these seem to bear no proportion to their fields of Swedish turnips, and also another sort, which, they informed me, does very well in the severest climates, and is more generally cultivated in the northern parts of the kingdom: upon these turnips, I found, they principally depended for their own diet, as well as that of their cattle; and their horses in winter have no
other

other food ; their breed is small, but very strong, uncommonly hardy, and very sure footed, going down the most rocky mountains sides. If the roads continue, as I expect, to grow worse and worse, as I advance northward, I shall not know what to do with my chaise and south country nags ; for I must have recourse to these little mountain ponies, which will enable me to travel forty miles a day, in the worst roads ; whereas five and twenty is now a hard day's work for me. In the preparation they make for their crops, they plough four or five times, and manure richly with a compost of the dung they raise in winter with vast quantities of wood ashes ; they seldom sow a crop, without previously making a vast pile of offal wood, as near as they can, and setting fire to it for the sake of the ashes ; and their crops are very good, raising to an equality of four quarters an acre English, of whatever corn or pulse they sow ; and which crops, they attribute entirely, and I suppose very justly, to the manuring of the wood-ashes and dung. Their turnips yield a very considerable produce ; one acre is sufficient to winter two head of cattle. They have some meadows, which are artificial, having been improved by them from the waste, and with good effect ;

effect; where they were too wet, they dug ditches, and spread the earth, that came out upon the land; and then they finish the improvement by manuring plentifully with wood-ashes, which bring up considerable crops of good grass; nor do they think the expence of these works great. But I should remark, that they have an advantage, and a prodigious one, which is of the women, labouring almost as hard as the men; so that their industry is in effect doubled.

Hedemora is a little town, well situated on a considerable river, down which, they carry large quantities of timber and iron for exportation. The 16th I got to Jahtun, which was all I could do, though the distance is little more than twenty miles. This fixed me in the determination of changing my way of travelling, and the rather, as I had found the climate regularly fine, since I landed in Sweden. It was absolutely necessary, for the landlord, at a very neat and agreeable inn here, told me, that no carriage could carry me among the mountains of Delacarla, which has been represented to me as a part of Sweden, extremely well worth viewing. From hence, therefore, I dispatched my chaise for Stockholm, with a letter to Baron Miftler, informing him of my
error,

error, and begging, he would order the chaise and horses to be sold, and remit me the money to M. de Verfpot, in Middelpade. I directed the man to buy a Swedish mountaineer, for bringing him back, appointing him to come to Jahtun, and follow me with all expedition into Dalecarlia; and, in case, I should have been too quick to be overtaken, appointed Hudwickswald, upon the sea coast, for the rendezvous. Having dispatched this business, I made enquiries after some horses, and was presently supplied by the peasants, with one for myself, another for my interpreter, and three for my bed and baggage, which, they assured me, would require no driving, but would follow regularly, according to their constant habit, go, where we would. These five horses cost me but sixteen pounds English; it took me up a day at Jahtun to get saddles, bridles, packs, and other accoutrements fitted.

The 18th in the morning, I began my march towards Grence, a little village in Dalecarlia, at forty miles distance; and this I performed in one day, with much more ease and pleasure, than I should have done in my chaise in two, although I stopped, some hours, to view a very large copper work. They told me, that no strangers ever came
into

into that country, without going down into the mine, but I had been at the bottom of so many, that I had not the least curiosity to enter this. The village of Grence stands in a little romantic valley, at the foot of a ridge of mountains, with a beautiful lake in front of it. All the hills here, and nine tenths of the country in general, are covered with wood; but the people have farms in the vales, on a very fine, light, black soil, which, I suppose, is entirely formed of rotten vegetables, which time has washed down from the mountains. Their crops, I found, upon enquiry, were very great, and all of them had many fields of turnips; and a white sort of carrot was here cultivated for their cattle and themselves; it has a root, like a parsnip, with a carrot top; they shewed me some remaining of last years crop, which were standing for seed. They eat it boiled, in the same manner as turnips, and generally with buck wheat flower, made into pottage; and their cattle of all sorts are as fond of them, as of turnips. The crops are not, however, so great, as of that root; but then they have, in another respect, a superiority, which is, thriving well on their worst lands, and without any manure. Buck wheat is a common crop, and they often sow and reap it in
seven

seven weeks; it yields well with them on their worst lands, if tolerably sheltered.

The 19th, I continued my journey to Ep-lebode, another little village, three and forty miles from Grence, through a most mountainous and wild country, chiefly covered with forests; but here and there, you pass little villages in the hollow vales, surrounded with cultivation enough for their support. In two or three places, I saw plains of greater extent, which seemed to be all well cultivated; the corn was up high and green, and appeared as good, as any I remember to have seen in England. Let me remark, that the peasants do not cultivate, as much as they could, but all seem to confine their endeavours to small farms, sufficient for the full maintenance of their families. I am convinced, that vast tracks of country, among these mountains, might be rendered very profitable farms; for the soil is in many places equally good, according to the accounts they gave me, as what they had under culture; but there is a want of people, as well as of an attention in the peasants, to make the culture of the earth their dependance, equally with their forests; but they are so bred to cutting, chopping, and sawing of trees, that they never think of hus-

husbandry, but leave the management of their farms to their wives and daughters.

The 20th, I proposed reaching Malun, a village, between thirty and forty miles from Eplebode, but in crossing a river at Jerna, or rather a torrent, which pours raging over a clift of rocks, a horse, that carried part of my baggage, by a false step, fell down a small precipice, and was killed, and his load was driven by the stream, from a girth breaking, some way down the river, into so wild a place, that it was with some difficulty, I could persuade the peasants to attempt the recovering it: by a considerable bribe, however, three of them were induced to follow the torrent, on the edge of the precipice, until they met with it, stopped by the rocks or broken trees, and which I was clear, from the appearance of the scene, could not be far. This obliged me to fix my lodging at Jerna, and it was noon the next day before they returned; they brought, however, the cloak-bags, with no other damage, than being very wet; which was fortunate for me, as I should, in the remainder of my journey, have been much disconcerted by the loss. Waiting upon account of this accident, gave me a longer opportunity, than I should otherwise have had,
to

to make enquiries into the domestic œconomy of those peasants. The whole country looks, as if there was not any private property in it; but I found, that these forests and wilds had owners, as well as more cultivated provinces. There are some gentlemen's seats in Dalecarlia, as I was informed, though I saw none; and their stewards and agents employ the peasants in cutting timber, in drawing pitch and tar, and in making charcoal, on their accounts, paying them, in general, by measure and tale; their rates of labour are not high, few of them earning more than four pence or five pence a day, English, though they are industrious and used to hard labour; but this pay is sufficient for maintaining them very well, with the help of their farms, as their wives dung them, and very old men do the principal business of them. All the purchases, they have to make with money, are some parts of their cloathing, which is extremely coarse and cheap, and also utensils and implements, all which are bought of travelling pedlars, for I do not apprehend, there are three shops for buying them in this immense province. As their money is sufficient therefore to their wants, these being all the uses of it, except some very slight

slight taxes, they have very few instances among them of unhappiness on account of the want of money; nor do I any where remember seeing a people, that had more appearances of perfect content and happiness among them. They are blessed with an almost uninterrupted flow of health, which is owing to the hardness of their lives, attended with wholesome diet: a bolder, braver, hardier race of men, I apprehend, do not exist, than the Dalecarlians; indeed, manhood, in all the active vigour of undaunted courage, attended with a proportionable degree of strength, is never found, but among the mountaineers; the inhabitants of fertile plains are effeminate, compared to them. This idea is finely started and illustrated by Montesquieu; and had he travelled through this province, he would have had abundance of reason, in every peasant he met, to have been convinced of the truth of his observation, and the deductions, which he has drawn from the histories of so many nations.

The Dalecarlians, that I have hitherto met with, appear to be a very honest, simple, but plainly sensible people; they are as hospitable, as can well be conceived; insomuch, that had I been eager and attentive to take
advan-

advantage of this good disposition, I should have travelled through their province, spending nothing but good words: indeed money is so scarce here, that paying them what they demanded, without the least hesitation, and forcing money upon some of them, still my expences in travelling were low beyond conception. I have several days travelled forty miles, and paid for myself, man, and five horses, with two or three meals, and a night's lodging, only the value of three shillings English. Indeed I took up with the food of the peasants, sat at their board, and was particular in nothing, but setting up my own bed. This was a mode of travelling extremely desirable in so wild a country, where the peasants are the only people in it that demand the least attention; and whoever is fond of seeing the strong variations of human life and manners, would, with the utmost pleasure, accept the company of Dalecarlian peasants: but I had another strong motive for relishing this method of travelling, which was the opportunity it gave me of making enquiries into the domestic œconomy of the country through which I passed; and by habituating myself to look with some degree of curiosity upon every piece of cultivated land, and by asking

many questions concerning their management and success, I came at length to find real entertainment in the business, and gained a smattering of knowledge in the art of agriculture. Indeed I have reason to regret that this knowledge is merely theoretical, for it is my misfortune, though I resided long in the country, to have none practical, not having then any idea, that husbandry could yield entertainment to any but uncultivated minds, or admit of such variations as I have since experienced. In these, as in other things, we are apt to be the children of custom; and he who sets out from home with a painter's idea, will run with fresh pleasure from picture to picture through the longest journey; it is the same with the other arts; and I feel, at present, in the enquiries, I take all occasions of making, into the state of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce, an increasing pleasure, as I proceed in gaining more intelligence of them.

The 21st I reached Lyra, the distance of near forty miles, having bought another horse at Jerna. The country, as I advanced, grew amazingly romantic; the view, as far as the eye can command from the tops of the mountains, is one vast range of mountain

tain beyond mountain, till you see the ridge that parts Sweden from Norway, rising far above the common clouds. The whole prospect is a thick woodland; and, in many places, very considerable lakes, of some miles long and broad, break upon the eye; nothing can be more awful or more sublime than these wonderful scenes. The situation of the village of Lyma is greatly uncommon; it lies within the bend of a river, which is in fact a continual waterfall, pouring over one ridge of rocks the moment it has passed another, and making such a continual roar as almost to stun the whole village; immediately behind it rises a ridge of mountains, whose tops are in cloudy weather, far above the clouds; but fortunately for me the weather has been uniformly clear. The appearance of these dreadful heights, with the torrent pouring down at their feet, is magnificent in the highest degree. I have viewed mountains, rocks, waterfalls, and lakes, in the north of England, and yet more in Scotland, but they are pigmies compared with these. There is an impression in these scenes that strikes the spectator with a far superior degree of awe.

The villages here have a very near resemblance to one another, only the quantities of cultivated land vary: there are a good many farms at Lyma, and I think, in general, larger than at the villages I have yet come to: here are many that reach sixty and seventy English acres; and one, which is extraordinary in this country, where the farmer depends alone upon his husbandry. Hearing of such a one made me desirous of seeing him, so that in the morning of the 22d I paid him a visit: his farm is more than three hundred English acres, and he employs five peasants in the culture of it regularly; besides three sons, himself, his wife, and a daughter. I rode over his whole farm, and was much entertained; for he is a sensible and very intelligent fellow, giving me not only plain facts, but the reason for them. His farm is situated partly in the vale, and partly on the side of a mountain, but not steep; it is all divided into inclosures; those in the vale by ditches, with hedges of various woods; and those on the hill with pines, set so close as almost to touch in the bodies and the branches, cut regularly, form a very fine fence. A most singular circumstance attended this man, (his name is Peter Sligwelhurst) all that
part

part of his farm, which lies on the side of the mountain, is of his own improving; it was a waste, where the peasants had burned the trees and rubbish, and carried away all the ashes; but lying handily for his vale lands, he attempted to cultivate a part of it, but without any success: in a few years after he remarked, that a little rill of water, which had broken from a small stream, and came down from the mountain side, had spread itself over a part of this neglected land; and in a year after this accident, which happened from the shivering of a rock, he took notice, that the land, over which this little water went, was of a fine verdure, from a full growth of grass; he examined it, and found the land quite sound, and no bog formed; he cut the grass for hay, it made what was very good, and was consumed by the cattle with eagerness. He had sense enough to esteem this as an useful discovery, as it pointed out to him a method of improving this waste track, and making it very profitable. He immediately inclosed a field of ten acres, and cut little channels to bring the water all over it, and the effect was equal; he gained by it the best piece of grass of any in his farm: this encouraged him to
take

take in another field of as many acres, over which he also brought the water, and it proved equally beneficial with the preceding; and in this manner he proceeded, every year taking in ten acres of land, which he has continued to the present time, gaining in the whole one hundred and thirty acres by this method; but there is not above ten acres more over which he can throw the water. He has been forced to vary his flooding, stopping the water in some fields while he throws it over others; and this has proved better for the land, than keeping it constantly on one. He stops it time enough in summer for a growth of hay; and while that is growing, he throws it over those fields that are fed, and contrives to feed and mow interchangeably.

This discovery of improving waste land, by water running over it, and converting it to be profitable, may, I apprehend, turn out of great utility in every country; for there are, in all mountainous ones, very numerous tracks that would admit such a watering as this with the greatest ease, and, comparatively speaking, at no expence; but for want of the fact being known, such trials have not been made. The success of this sensible farmer convinced the neighbouring

bouring peasants of the benefit of it, before he had got half through his improvements; all of them that had waste lands adjoining the mountains, and over which they could carry little rills of water, immediately did it, and their success has been answerable to his; which shews, that it is not any thing peculiar in his soil or water, but common to all. And some of these peasants have undertaken this improvement about three miles off, where there is a large shelving plain, with several broken streams that come down from the tops of the hills, and are prosecuting their watering and inclosures very briskly. It has also reached the village of Lynstone, eight miles off, where several peasants have practised it with success.

Farmer Sligwelhurst is not a good husbandman in this instance only, I viewed his arable lands with much pleasure; they are well tilled, very free from weeds, and his crops make a most promising appearance. He grows wheat, barley, oats, pease, beans, turnips, white carrots, and a sort of potatoe which I had not seen before; it is of a greenish cast, grows to a large size, and is much relished by the peasants. He manures with the common compost of wood

wood ashes and dung ; and as he ploughs his land often and well, gets fine crops ; of wheat he has up to three quarters an acre ; of barley, two and an half ; of oats and pease, four quarters ; and of a dwarf sort of hardy bean, five quarters not unfrequently. An acre of his turnips, with good management, winters three head of cattle ; an acre of carrots as many ; and the potatoes yield so considerably, that he keeps many hogs entirely on them.

I enquired of him where he found a market for the products of his farm, as almost every family, I had observed, had a little farm of their own : he said, that his principal commodities for sale, were butter and cheese, and salted pork, beef, and mutton, with some wool ; and which he sends in panniers on horses to a river about sixteen miles from him, which is navigable for boats to Lake Silia, where there are factors who purchase all sorts of commodities, which they resell to the miners of Gestrícia : and this he reckoned a very advantageous market to go to, as it was considerable enough to take off much greater quantities than all Dalecarlia could produce, they being principally supplied across the gulph from Finland, &c.

These

These are circumstances which, I own, make me wonder very much, that greater quantities of the lands of this country are not cultivated. I should apprehend, indeed, the fact is as plain as any can be, that they would admit it; for this farmer, who is acquainted with all the country around for many miles, told me, that he knows many plains, that contain thousands of acres, and innumerable spots on the sides of hills, from one to two or three hundred acres each, which would admit of every improvement and culture which he has practised, so that it is a mistaken idea to imagine, that because a country is extremely mountainous, that therefore it will admit of very little culture. Dalecarlia, they told me at Stockholm, was a country but little superior to Lapland, and assured me, that I should see nothing but rugged mountains, and boundless forests; the face of it, in general, is so; but the spots that are in fertility are equal to any plains, are very numerous, and would of themselves make a very fine province. They want nothing but people properly convinced of the importance of agriculture; and such a people a government in harmony, and really zealous to cultivate a country, could presently get. I am persuaded,

from what I have seen of the Dalecarlians, that if an exemption from the poll-tax was allowed to every farmer, who inclosed and improved fifty acres of waste land, it would give a new face to abundance of the territory. This tax is not severe, but they think it disgraceful, because the province was once exempted from it.

In the morning of the 23d I took my leave of the industrious Sligwelhurst, and went to Serna, which is two and thirty miles, where I met with nothing worthy of observation. It is a little village, the peasants of which have nothing more than gardens. The whole country is, however, amazingly magnificent, as the eye commands such ranges of thick wood as to be almost unbounded.

From Serna I turned full East to Herdala, the distance near sixty miles, which took me up two days, through a country in which there is a very broad and considerable flat track of land, with a river in the middle of it. It is, as I guess, twenty miles across, and of a far greater length. I suppose Sweden does not contain a richer track of land, yet very little of it is cultivated; much of it is bog, some marsh, but most of it a dry, deep, rich, sound loam. At Herdala,

dala my servant overtook me from Stockholm, having traced me by the information of the peasants.

From thence I set off the 26th for Linsdal, a village at the distance of fourscore miles, in the province of Helsingia; and which proved a journey of three days, through a more romantic, wild, and mountainous country, than any I had yet seen.

Here therefore end my travels through Dalecarlia, in which, I must own, I have met with very great satisfaction. The honest plainness of the inhabitants, consisting totally of a race of peasants, gave me as much pleasure, as the awful sublimity of the country raised my astonishment. Nature may be said to reign in full majesty in these wild and almost desert tracks; but whatever may be their character, a view of them is most certainly worthy the attention of the most cultivated minds; for they may here read lessons as striking, and as interesting, as any in the most refined and polished countries.

End of the Second Volume.

